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ESSENTIALS OF AMERICANIZATION

BY

EMORY S. BOGARDUS, PH.D.

PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
AUTHOR OF *Introduction to Sociology* AND
Essentials of Social Psychology

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Settlement, which is surrounded by thousands of representatives of thirty leading races from all parts of the world, and where the writer began in 1908 to teach the English language and American principles to the foreign-born. This treatise is an outgrowth of subsequent immigration investigations, which included studies of living conditions and of social attitudes. It is a result of teaching the subject of "Americanization and Immigration" to university students regularly since 1912.

E. S. B.

University of Southern California.
February 21, 1919.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

In this edition several minor alterations have been made. In re-writing the chapters, paragraphs have been added here and there in order to give a fuller and more balanced treatment of the subject matter. In Part One there is a slight change in the statement of American ideals.

The most important additions will be found in Part Four. The analysis of "Methods of Americanization" has been made in this edition on the basis of what needs to be done. There are large numbers of persons and organizations which have been ready to do Americanization work but they have not known how to go about the task or just what to do. Part Four indicates a procedure to be followed. The technique of Americanization is presented from several standpoints: Industrial, social, racial, political, and educational. It is hoped that the value of this book will be enhanced by the general plan of combining statements of American ideals and of immigrant backgrounds, traditions, and ideals with a presentation of the technique of the Americanization process.

The "problems" have been increased in number and placed at the close of the respective chapters. They will furnish a specific opportunity for the reader to supplement the thought of the chapters by his own original thinking.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS.

University of Southern California.
July 1, 1920.

ESSENTIALS OF AMERICANIZATION

PART ONE

AMERICANIZATION AND AMERICAN IDEALS

Chapter I

THE SCOPE OF AMERICANIZATION

Americanization is a process. It is not a big stick; neither is it a *laissez faire* policy. Americanization is an educational process of unifying both the native-born and foreign-born in the United States in perfect support of American principles. It selects and preserves the best qualities in our past and present Americanism; and at the same time it singles out and fosters such traits of the foreign-born as will contribute to the development of democracy among our entire population.

The native-born and the foreign-born alike must experience the process of Americanization. In the case of natives, Americanization involves getting acquainted with the best American traditions and current standards, and practicing and trying to improve the quality of these traditions and standards. In the case of the foreign-born, Americanization means giving up one set

of well-known and, in part, precious loyalties for another set of loyalties, more or less new and unknown. To renounce one group of loyalties for another group involves a deep-seated and delicate re-adjustment of mental and social attitudes.

In the process of becoming loyal to American ideals the native-born possess a strong advantage over the foreign-born. At the end of twenty-one years the native is declared to have reached the goal of political suffrage; the immigrant is expected to achieve this goal in five years. The native has the social advantage of being born into an American environment; the immigrant, the social disadvantage of having to break with habits and customs arising out of sacred, but from the standpoint of the United States, alien associations. The native in the years of youth and leisure is surrounded in the home, school, and church by American teachings; the immigrant is obliged oftentimes to learn a new language and new customs in the mature years of life, handicapped by long hours of routine labor, and despite little positive encouragement and sympathetic help.

The Americanization movement had its primary, or immediate, origin in 1914 when the World War broke out and a renaissance of nationalism occurred throughout the civilized world. When the United States entered the World War, she discovered that large numbers of her immigrant population had not become assimilated, and that even hundreds of thousands of people had lived within her boundaries for years without learning the language of the land.

The Americanization movement had its secondary

origin in the positive assimilation activities which began to assume form about 1910. In the preceding year *The Melting Pot* had been published. In this splendid drama, Israel Zangwill had described the United States as a gigantic melting pot wherein the traditions and ideals of all races were being melted into one set of principles, namely, Americanism. For decades, settlement workers and public school teachers in immigrant districts had been making valiant contributions to the melting pot, or assimilation, process. The quiet influence of environmental forces had also been furthering assimilation. But in spite of much that was being done the assimilation tendencies were being defeated in the immigrant districts of large cities and of isolated rural localities. In consequence, thousands of immigrants were crowding annually into the already over-crowded and distinctly foreign quarters of the metropolitan centers. Under these conditions, there were few wholesome contacts between natives and immigrants, and assimilation became almost nil. Nevertheless, the concept of assimilation furnished a wholesome and dynamic background for Americanization.

The Americanization movement had its tertiary, or basic, origin in the naturalization concept. In 1790, our government set forth certain standards to which an immigrant must attain before he can become a naturalized citizen. These standards were later modified, but in general they included a residence of five years within the country, a certain acquaintance with the constitution of the United States and related political data, the renouncing of allegiance to the given foreign country, the declaration of allegiance to the

United States, and the establishment by witnesses of the possession of a worthy personal character. These requirements, unfortunately, developed in certain quarters a legalistic, or formal meaning.

It was assumed that the immigrant would want to become a citizen and would strive in every possible way to meet the real content of naturalization. But this assumption has often proved erroneous. Immigrants have frequently been herded together and naturalized *en masse* by designing but unpatriotic politicians. Well-meaning immigrants have often found no sympathy or aid in their many struggles to understand correctly our American government and principles. They have sometimes come to the conclusion that native Americans are not interested in their welfare, either individually or socially. They have often sought merely to memorize the constitution of the United States and other political facts. They have "crammed" in order to pass the naturalization test before the court. They have secured the form rather than the real, throbbing content of Americanism. Despite these untoward tendencies, naturalization has within recent years taken on increasingly a human content and has served a basic purpose in the Americanization process.

Americanization, thus, had its beginning in 1790 in naturalization. It received added life through the emphasis on assimilation which has developed in our own day. And now Americanization is acquiring a worthy and distinct momentum of its own.

The Americanization movement, however, has not gone forward satisfactorily. A lack of understanding and of interest has blocked the highways of action,

Pseudo-patriotic utterances have prevented clear thinking upon the subject. The facetious statement that there are "fifty-seven varieties" of Americanism is not altogether groundless. Since the United States declared war in 1917, some of these elements of Americanism have disappeared, a few of the elements have united into ugly conglomerates, while others have exhibited the character of solid ores bearing pure American qualities.

Americanization is being defined in certain places with total disregard of its true foundations, the principles of genuine Americanism, and without realization that it is not to be confined to European immigrants alone. Historic slogans and shibboleths are uttered glibly or hurled with fervor upon crowds whose feelings are likely to explode more or less automatically in vehement applause. Basic, rational principles of American progress are often ignored. Moreover, myopically to Americanize the immigrant from Europe and to feel thereby that the heights and breadths of Americanization have been reached reveals a pitifully small concept of the theme.

The following definitions of Americanization disclose an inadequate conception of our subject.

(a) Americanization is teaching foreigners to be satisfied with their jobs.
(b) Americanization is the suppression by vigorous means of all radical elements in our country.
(c) Americanization is the reducing of the foreign-born to a uniformity of opinions and beliefs in harmony with Americanism.

(d) Americanization means teaching English and civics to foreigners in order to enable them to secure naturalization papers.
(e) Americanization is a paternalistic program for helping ignorant foreigners by utilizing the superior ability of the native-born.

Commendable interpretations of Americanization are given herewith:

(a) Americanization is an entering into the spirit of our country.
(b) Americanization is the process of nation-building in the United States.
(c) Americanization teaches the duty of the host, not less than the duty of the newcomer.
(d) Americanization is an organization of the people for a greater share in the government.
(e) Americanization means helping the foreigner to acquire an American standard of living and an American loyalty.
(f) Americanization means giving the immigrant the best America has to offer and retaining for Americans the best in the immigrant.
(g) Americanization is that branch of social science dealing with the assimilation and amalgamation of diverse races in equity as an integral part of American national life.
(h) Americanization is the uniting of new and native-born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation to secure by means of self-government the highest welfare of all.

(i) Americanization means to "form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of Liberty."

Americanization must begin at home. The native citizen of the United States must enter upon a new understanding of the principles of Americanism. He must sincerely and whole-heartedly accept the tasks of translating these standards into mutually advantageous actions and into helpful attitudes toward the strangers within our gates. The alien cannot be compelled to love America; only love begets love. The practice for decades of calling the immigrant "names," of applying unpleasant epithets to races, of looking askance at the Slav as a Hunkie, at the Jew as a Sheeny, at the Italian as a Dago, cannot be overcome by mere changes in phrasing. The rectification of the wrongs that have been done and the alleviation of the disagreeable and antagonistic feelings that have been aroused can be accomplished only through the manifestation of kindly attitudes and the spirit of love.

Through constructive attitudes toward and dealings with the immigrant, the average American can do more in the promotion of Americanization than by any other method. By relieving the immigrants from contact with diseases caused by unsanitary housing, from suffering due to malnutrition, from the hopeless combat with the cost of living, from the withering glance of race prejudice or class scorn we can best advance the cause of American democracy. We must no longer be content

to sing national songs imperfectly remembered. We must become clear-headed, socialized personifications of the noblest phases of Americanism. A program for educating the foreign-born in terms of unselfish national loyalty must begin with the native-born. Native Americans must set the highest examples of unselfish public service. They must lead the way by first inaugurating, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, "a process of self-examination, a process of purification, a process of re-dedication." They must renounce any remaining forms of ego-centric doctrines, such as, private property before public welfare, or economic profits at any human cost.

Americanization begins with an examination of American traits and ends with the perfecting of an assimilation movement that includes young and old; white, yellow, red, and black; native-born and foreign-born. We may consider the Mayflower Compact as the initial statement of Americanism, the Declaration of Independence, Washington's addresses, and Lincoln's speeches as illustrations of intermediary transitions, and Theodore Roosevelt's and Woodrow Wilson's recent addresses as modern revisions. But Americanism is even more a matter of the present than of the past, and of the future than of the present. It has four fundamental sets of characteristics: liberty and initiative, union and co-operation, democracy and justice, internationalism and brotherhood.

Our national purposes must be clearly stated, taught to our people, and accepted throughout the land. In taking the far-reaching step of making our nation telic, of declaring definite national aims, and of projecting

our future purposes, we must make choices in harmony with world welfare. It will be necessary continually to shun the paths which lead to the broad, spectacular road of autocracy, imperialism, ambition for world domination, injustice in dealing with weak nations, classes, or persons. It will be a continual struggle to maintain ourselves upon the narrow, rugged road of national self-abnegation, of justice to weak and strong alike, of championing the needs of mankind, of helping to organize the friendship of the world.

The first group to respond to Americanization, then, must be native-born Americans. With American principles understood by all native Americans, and stated in terms ranging from personal to world-wide democracy, Americanization can go forward. When war was declared between the United States and Germany, there were Americans of native birth who acted as though they were thinking of the impending conflict in terms of individual gain and were asking themselves the question, not "How can I serve my nation most unselfishly?" but "What is there in it for me?" There were persons who looked upon the manufacturing of munitions of war, the building of ships and aircraft as so many opportunities for piling up profits. There were other persons who thought of strikes, sabotage, direct action in stopping war manufacturing as emergency opportunities for demanding higher wages.

A second, small but important group which must be included in our program of Americanization is that composed of the original Americans — the Indians. Numbering about 300,000, they have become a broken, dispirited, and defeated people; they are not an inte-

gral part of our present-day American life. Their best qualities have not been utilized in the making of America. But they have many qualities to offer that we need in the building of a strong American type.

A third group of native Americans, large and portentous, comprising more than 12,000,000 colored folk, must have a place in our Americanization activities. Although the Negroes are native-born, speak the English language, and have adopted the rudimentary cultural standards of the white people, they have lived long in the land without adequate economic and educational opportunities, and they have not reached a level where they fully understand and appreciate Americanism. They have been the victims of such an extensive segregation movement, following the days of slavery and reconstruction, that a startling degree of stupid misunderstanding and blind race prejudice has been fanned, at times, to flames. The Negro problem is the leading race question in the United States today. It underlies the welfare of the nation; it demands the salutary leavening influence of an adequate Americanization spirit.

Then there is another portion of our native population which comes within the scope of Americanization — the mountaineers. The undeveloped mountain peoples of Appalachia, of the Ozarks, and of many other districts, possessing a patriotism of the eighteenth century type and a daily thought-life that runs even farther back, are distinctly removed in many ways from our twentieth century American ideals. A strong, socially-minded, democratically-realized America cannot be completely constructed until the two million or

more mountain-isolated natives come into harmonious participation in the personal, national, and international movements of the day.

The red Indian, the black African, and the white mountaineer — all native Americans — must be given an education which will enable them to understand and to translate twentieth century Americanism into normal attitudes and activities. Each group has valuable qualities to contribute to Americanism; but thus far each group has been prevented from bringing its best gifts to and receiving the best stimuli from the United States.

At this point, we turn from the native to the immigrant. Under the belief that the melting-pot process has been assimilating the 15,000,000 European immigrants in the United States satisfactorily, reputable Americans have rested content. Hundreds of thousands of adult aliens, however, have been working in mines, mills, and factories, and living in tenements or under boarding-boss conditions without becoming Americanized. When war was declared in 1917 and the United States needed the individual and wholehearted loyalty of all her peoples, many of the foreign-born did not respond. They had known the United States, not at her best, but at her worst.

In 1918, in one factory alone in New York City there were 700 employees making uniforms for the soldiers of the United States, but of this number not one could speak English. The country was astounded to learn that there were 40,000 men in the first conscription in 1917 who did not know sufficient English to understand the simplest army orders In the same

year in New York City alone there were half a million men and women who could not speak, read, or write English. In that year there was a total of about three million adult immigrants in this country who could not understand or speak English, and there were nine million adults who were reading almost exclusively the foreign language newspapers. Over-crowded slums, temporary shacks whose filthiness had become permanent, the twelve hour day and the seven day week in the steel mills, a set of working and living conditions that were destructive of moral living, the open saloon — these were the leading factors that had been Americanizing many European immigrants.

The foreign-born from Asia present special problems. Seventy years after their first advent, they remained, as a rule, unfitted into the mosaic of American life. In our Chinese legislation we have publicly stamped the Chinese, even the skilled and Christian Chinese, as unworthy persons in freedom's land. We have seemed to want them only for their economic value. Because satisfactory methods have been outlined for protecting us from a flood of Chinese immigrants, and for safeguarding our standards, and at the same time for treating China in this matter as a self-respecting nation, our wholesale racial condemnation of the Chinese puts us in an essentially un-American light before the exponents of democracy in China. China is still in the swaddling clothes of democracy and is beholding with wondering eyes the interpretation of democracy by the United States in her dealings with Chinese immigrants.

The Japanese in our country, with certain excep-

tions, are an un-American portion of our population. Not only were they not being Americanized, but their mother country was being alienated by our treatment of the fundamental issues until the developing exigencies of the World War caused the dissatisfactions temporarily to be laid aside. California, justly desirous of protecting herself against a large Japanese immigration, passed a land law in 1913 which put immigrants from Japan — a nation of recognized standing among the nations of the world, and in the war against Germany to become one of America's allies — upon a plane of forbidden land ownership, while it left aliens from fifth-rate nations, such as Turkey, upon the higher level of permissible land ownership. Our Americanization program must provide valid national and international solutions of the questions arising out of Japanese immigration.

Another racial problem in the United States has developed sinister aspects. Mexicans, representing in general a low economic, social, and political level, have been brought into our country in large numbers to meet unskilled labor needs in the Southwestern States, such as California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. One large group of Mexicans is transient; another is settling permanently in the United States. No large-scale movement is on foot to help either group to understand us or to adopt our higher mode of living. The Mexican immigrants are relatively an uneducated class who are not learning to love our country. On occasion they even become suspicious of our ways and motives. Because of the proximity of their homeland and of the delicate international relations between

Mexico and the United States, the scope of our sympathetic Americanization vision must be extended to include the Mexican immigrant.

The hour has struck for a clear, concrete understanding of American ideals and traits and for an educational movement which will interpret America's ideals in deeds as well as words to every inhabitant of our nation from youthful to aged, and from native to foreign-born. The time has come for an Americanization program that will transform the polyglot, heterogeneous elements of the nation into a Unified States as well as a United States.

The United States must know herself; she must take stock of her human resources, losses, and gains. She must plan her future. But in making her human inventory and in determining consciously her destiny, she must beware of the footsteps of Prussian autocracy. She must transform her imperfect democracy, not into another strong nation-state after the manner of Prussian leadership, but into a perfected democracy dedicated to the task of pushing forward the principles of democracy throughout the world.

Genuine Americanism emanates, not from a profiteering type of nationalism, but from an understanding of all the multifarious and dissident racial and individual elements in our nation. Americanism arises from a loyalty to our nation which is open, public-spirited, progressive, and planetary. Americanization is the process of enabling all inhabitants of the United States to live democratically with each other and with the world.

PROBLEMS

1. Why has attention been given to questions of Americanization only within recent years?
2. What is the ordinary person's conception of Americanization?
3. Have our American histories failed to teach Americanization?
4. What are good starting-points in studying the subject of Americanization?
5. What is meant by the making of an American?
6. Why is the figure of speech, the melting pot, unsatisfactory to the immigrant?
7. Why has the melting-pot process in the United States extensively failed?
8. By what process is loyalty to a new ideal engendered?
9. What do you understand by the "manifest destiny" of the United States?
10. What is the main reason today for the existence of the United States?
11. What was the chief contribution of the World War to the Americanization process in the United States?
12. Which of the definitions of Americanization that are given in Chapter One do you prefer, and why?
13. Is there an American race?
14. Distinguish between race and nationality.
15. What is the main value to any country of immigration?

16. How can we best get the support of immigrants in times of a national crisis?
17. Distinguish between Americanism and Americanization.
18. Distinguish between the problem of Americanizing the native and the problem of Americanizing the immigrant.

Chapter II

AMERICAN IDEALS: LIBERTY AND INITIATIVE

An Americanization program cannot progress satisfactorily until common agreement is reached in regard to the meaning of Americanism. The "fifty-seven varieties" of Americanism must be analyzed. Their constructive elements must be unified; the rest must be discarded. The new tendencies of the hour in Americanism must be distinguished and evaluated. We, the current makers of Americanism, need to become thoroughly grounded in its history, nature, and potentialities.

Americanism is composed of ideals and practices, and oftentimes the practices have fallen far below or even contradicted the ideals. The problem of bringing American practices into line with American ideals is essentially the problem of Americanizing the native-born. This question will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII. Our first task is to analyze American ideals. The four groups of these ideals, which will be presented in order in this chapter and Chapters III, IV, and V, are these: (1) liberty and initiative; (2) union and co-operation; (3) democracy and justice; and (4) internationalism and brotherhood.

Liberty and initiative have constituted the most striking aspects of American life and character. It was

these traits which dominated the 120 men who braved the sailing vessel perils of an unknown Atlantic and took up settlement on May 14, 1607 on the James River, courageously facing malaria, Indian hostility, gaunt famine and rampant death. Since the migration of the Virginia colonists was motivated partially by the desire to seek the reported fabulous wealth and the new lands of America, the liberty-loving spirit did not come to political expression until 1618, when the Virginians secured the right to elect their own legislative assembly and thus to establish representative government in America. The initial representative assembly in America, chosen by the free colonists of Virginia, convened on July 30, 1619.

The migration of the Pilgrims was primarily the outgrowth of the desire for individual liberty in morals and religion. The Americanism of the "Mayflower" covenanters sprang from an indomitable desire for liberty — liberty to establish a new form of worship. It was from a church that the Pilgrims started their long, perilous journey to America. From the church to the harbor of Delft Haven the historic procession of Pilgrims was led by John Robinson, who carried an open Bible on his hands, and who read aloud, as the procession moved on its momentous way, the following Divine injunction: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will show thee; and I will make of thee a great nation; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed."

The Pilgrims and Puritans alike sought liberty in religious matters. Out of this search grew the con-

stitutional enactment that religious beliefs shall prevent no one from governmental preferment. According to the first amendment to the Constitution, Congress is forbidden to make any law prohibiting the free exercise of any religion or prohibiting the establishment of any religion. Thus, liberty in religion was guaranteed.

In his Farewell Address, Washington designated religion and morals as necessary corner stones for the political structure, even though the church and the government were to be kept separate. The United States has demonstrated to the Old World for many scores of years that religion can thrive and can permeate the nation without the intervention of government or of a State church.

Puritan morality, also, has contributed vitally to American life. Although too rigorous and austere in certain particulars, the moral discipline enjoined by Puritanism served to curb the lower instincts which lead to self indulgences and social enervation. Puritanism became the first dynamic in Americanism. It stood for the religious liberty and moral freedom of the individual American.

It was out of the search for religious and moral freedom by the Puritans that there arose in New England in the seventeenth century the demand for a government based on the principles of individual liberty. Throughout the succeeding century and in colony after colony, liberty became the powerful watchword. It reached tangible expression in various ways — strikingly so through the New England town-meeting. Incoming colonists served as fresh reserves in building

up the new Americanism. For example, in the decades following the year 1710, thousands of persecuted Ulsterites, or Scotch-Irish, brought a soul-stirring passion for liberty.

When the Liberty Bell, symbolizing eighteenth century Americanism, was re-cast in 1775, it bore a message which proclaimed the earnest and common wish, not only of the central colonies, but of all the colonists, namely: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." Liberty became the powerful ideal which was to free a people from arbitrary rule.

Then there appeared in Virginia the impassioned spokesman of incipient Americanism, Patrick Henry. He gave a larger meaning to the concept of liberty and he helped to unite the heart yearnings of the colonists. In 1764, he uttered a daring public warning to King George to beware of inordinate desires for political domination. In March, 1774, this delegate from Hanover County arose to speak in a small log church in the midst of a Virginia wilderness. It was he who was to give the country its watchword, to give it at the critical hour, and to give it brilliantly. With absolute fearlessness, Patrick Henry declared that "war is inevitable," and piercing the misty future he pointed out the basis of ultimate victory, when he asserted that his countrymen "armed in the holy cause of liberty are invincible." With consuming passion, he exclaimed that "life is not so dear, nor peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery." Then, towering in conscious strength — a standard-bearer of the Most High — he hurled forth

the call to arms, and issued his world-wide and time-long challenge, the conditional demand: "Give me liberty, or give me death!"

Patrick Henry's personification of the spirit of liberty electrified the old church, leaped the boundaries of Virginia, sent a thrill through distant Concord and Lexington, vaulted the Atlantic, shook the throne of the British Empire, and won the undying allegiance of European lovers of liberty, such as La Fayette and Kosciuszko. It drew forth heroes all the way from the plantations of the Carolinas to the sugar-camps of Vermont. It united Massachusetts and Virginia; it gave the inspiration which welded together the heterogeneous colonial pioneers of freedom and laid the foundations for the establishment of the American Union.

In the following year, the democratic and peace-loving pen of Thomas Jefferson formulated in immortal but abstract terms the principles of freedom which Patrick Henry had painted in burning colors. To Jefferson, liberty meant equality before the law of the land. It connoted a freedom which guarantees to individuals equal redress of wrongs done and equal opportunity to change the laws which define what is right. Concerning his successful attack in the Virginia House of Burgesses upon the operation of the law of primogeniture, Jefferson declared that his purpose was not to further an aristocracy of wealth, of more harm and danger than benefit to society, but to encourage the rise of an aristocracy of virtue and talent which nature has wisely and equally scattered throughout all strata and conditions of society.

Jefferson's Declaration of Independence emphasizes

rights, or abstract Right, as being more powerful than harsh, immutable, colossal Might. Might, which operates so unbrokenly in the physical world, so ruthlessly in many phases of animal life, so barbarously in the world of primitive peoples, so unblushingly among feudal lords and imperial kings, found open and portentous challenge in the Declaration of Independence. Henceforth, Might must bow to Right, autocratic to civil authority, and heartless decrees of inherited pomp to the free exercise of the intelligence of the common people.

The pre-eminent leader in Revolutionary American life was Washington. His name will forever shine as the commander-in-chief of the army of American Independence. His generalship under the most adverse circumstances is a marvel of the ages. On July 3, 1775, he was the commander-in-chief of an army of about 18,000 men — men who were without equipment, training, organization, *esprit de corps*. By the winter of 1777-1778, the men whom he had organized into an army, had suffered heart-sickening defeats, had been forced to surrender several cities, including New York, and had gone into winter quarters at Valley Forge, starving, barefooted, and discouraged. But Washington's noted equipoise of character and his love of independence, supported by liberty-imbued colonists and European friends, notably French friends, finally won the victory for America. For seven years Washington, without pay, served his country and the cause of liberty.

The central ideal of Americanism in Revolutionary days was liberty. It was a liberty which meant the

freedom of the American people from interference by any foreign power, and which guaranteed the security of the individual citizen, as opposed to the glorification of the nation-state. For the first time in the history of the world, the life, liberty, and property of the individual were placed under the complete protection of the *law*. And law — the will of the people — was to govern the activities of the rulers themselves. It was this conception which has been pronounced the original contribution of the American mind to political thought.

In addition to religious and moral liberty, and to political liberty, an industrial liberty was introduced by Benjamin Franklin. To the concept of Americanism, Franklin made his unique contribution in the rôle of "Poor Richard." The teachings of "Poor Richard" have been widely effective in conditioning the practical, every-day activities of Americans. "They moulded our great-grandparents and their children," said John T. Morse, Jr., the biographer. "They have formed our popular traditions; they still influence our actions, guide our way of thinking, and establish our points of view, with the constant control of acquired habits which we little suspect. 'Poor Richard' has found eternal life by passing into the daily speech of the people." "Poor Richard" has been described as "the revered and popular schoolmaster of a young nation during its period of tutelage." He is the personification of thrift — a self-reliant thrift by which our forefathers laid the foundations of our material welfare, our individual success, and our national prosperity.

Out of the industrial liberty and individual initiative

for which the forefathers were noted, there has grown modern business prowess. Under the protection of law, individuals with courage, foresight, and business ability have built vast industrial corporations and amassed gigantic fortunes. They have also developed wonderful powers of efficient production of economic goods. They have evolved marvelous organizing ability. It was by virtue of these qualities that our democracy was enabled within a remarkably short time to pour more than a million soldiers on the battlefields of France in 1918 and to assist in halting and turning the tide of victory.

The American has been an individual even more in the industrial than in the political field. In developing the natural resources of the land, his initiative has known no bounds. He has not hesitated — unless in some instances in recent years — to swing the axe, to follow the plough, to span the continent, to project the sky-scraper, to conquer the air. He has become a man of action and a living illustration of *la vie intense* — the strenuous life. As Emerson has indicated, the average American has walked on his own feet, worked with his own hands, and spoken with his own mind. The American has been the world's chief Pioneer.

The American has been unafraid to develop blistered or calloused hands; he has not been ashamed of the insignia of honest toil. He has admired the man who is doing things, who is achieving, who is climbing the ladder of success. Moreover, he has thrown off his coat, set his jaws, drawn his belt taut, and plunged upward, round after round. The American youth has been perennially stimulated by the dream of becoming

President of the United States, knowing that such a distinction was possible to any American of honesty and ability. Lincoln is a favorite among Americans because he rose through his own consistent efforts from the depths of poverty and obscurity to the heights of fame and service. Roosevelt's appeal to his fellow-countrymen developed chiefly from his independence of judgment, fearlessness of statement, and strenuousness of attack. Daring to defy special privilege, he won a place among America's immortals.

The American has been willing to undertake anything once — trusting to his own versatility and ingenuity to escape from unforeseen predicaments. Strange and harsh circumstances have challenged his initiative and self-reliance until inventions have burst forth from his mind by the thousands and enabled him to face and master the forces of land, ocean, and air. The term, Yankee ingenuity, has become well-known in the world. The annual output of inventions in the United States probably excels that of all other countries of the world combined.

Initiative has produced inventiveness. Under the American's inventive touch, the telegraph and the telephone have been perfected until persons can converse without the aid of wires and in ordinary tones across the continental expanse between New York and San Francisco. The phonograph has been evolved until skilled musicians in a concert hall are baffled to tell whether an artist's voice is proceeding from the artist himself or from the wonder-producing instrument beside which he stands. The overland limited train has reached the perfected combination of the untiring speed

of the carrier pigeon and the comforts of a luxurious home.

Although seen by only a few Americans, and experimenting methodically in an unspectacular laboratory, Thomas A. Edison is easily one of America's greatest citizens. Supporting the liberty-loving and self-reliant leaders from Franklin to Edison, from Washington to Roosevelt and Wilson, an innumerable company of humble American fathers and mothers have lived and worked, heroically opening a new continent and bequeathing magnificent opportunities for the expression of self-initiative to their children.

Initiative — this has been the American's rugged characteristic. Behind an overemphasis upon commercialism there is not a sodden nature so much as a self-initiative run wild. Behind ugly lynching practices there is not wanton brutality so much as the rash attempt to render justice one's self, without waiting for the slower procedure of law. The strength of the United States has been found in her emphasis upon liberty and initiative; her weakness has grown out of the fact that she has thought of liberty and initiative too frequently in terms of the individual self and not sufficiently in terms of the public self.

The rewards to self-initiative in the United States have often defied computation. Millionaires have been made over-night, and many times through little or no effort of their own. Consequently a boundless optimism has run high. The Westward Movement in the United States was continually characterized by substantial, materialistic surprises. Then Big Business followed with its unheralded financial rewards. Initia-

tive has been coined into dollars, and the American Pioneer has been transformed into an uncrowned industrial king.

The rewards to initiative have stamped the face of the American with lines of expectation and optimism. They have supported the Goddess of Liberty, holding aloft her precious torch. They have guarded the Liberty Bell, pealing forth its notes of freedom. They have created the independent and sturdy figure of Uncle Sam. Americanism has become synonymous with self-expression, self-initiative, and self-perfection. If in certain quarters these ideals have become corrupted, let Americans unite in restoring to them their earlier purity and original lustre. If they have unduly encouraged selfishness throughout our land, let Americans unite in harmonizing them with public needs.

PROBLEMS

1. What criticism can you offer concerning the analysis of American ideals that is given in the second paragraph of this chapter?
2. Which of the four sets of ideals that are indicated in paragraph two is the most attractive to the immigrant?
3. What do you consider the most important American ideal?
4. In your opinion, what important ideal do Americans lack most?
5. Distinguish between American ideals, American traits, and Americanism.

6. Are American ideals primarily a matter of the past, the present, or the future?
7. What did the term, America, mean to the world in 1607?
8. How had the meaning of that term changed by 1775?
9. What phases of Americanism did Franklin represent?
10. Why do we give Washington the first place in the early history of Americanism?
11. What do you understand by the term, personal liberty?
12. Is selfishness and the desire for personal liberty synonymous?
13. How do you account for the inventiveness of the American mind?
14. Are Americans tending to become ashamed of manual labor?
15. Will a strong emphasis on a social welfare standpoint tend to crush out the ideals of individual liberty and self-initiative?
16. In a program of Americanization, how much emphasis should be put upon the initiative of the immigrant?

Chapter III

AMERICAN IDEALS: UNION AND CO-OPERATION

In the life-works of Washington and Jefferson the struggle for liberty was inseparably bound with the contest for union. Washington and Jefferson fought for both liberty and union — union as a means of guaranteeing liberty. They both recognized that liberty could not stand alone — it would be safe only when supported by union.

At the beginning of the struggle for union, Alexander Hamilton stood forth with unfaltering boldness and more prominently than any other person. With steadfast loyalty to the needs of establishing a political union, Hamilton lived and spoke and wrote — always ably — until his chief, and ours, in his Farewell Address incorporated a panegyric in its behalf.

The difficulties which faced Hamilton were grave. The liberty which the freedom-loving colonists sought was for the individual and the individual colony. Each colony was reluctant to join with the other commonwealths even in a loose and temporary confederation. The Articles of Confederation made Congress a constitutional body and included the principle of equality of representation. It was only after several years of convincingly unsatisfactory experiences with a confederation that recognition was given to the Hamiltonian idea of a union. Under the name of "Publius," and

in a series of essays, known as "The Federalist," Hamilton advocated the formation of the Union. Through a brilliant series of debates, he succeeded in swinging his own pivotal state of New York into line; whereupon the fruits of victory began to appear. In the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, the need of establishing "a more perfect union" was given first place. The change from a confederacy to a federacy gave the Union a rank equal in importance to that of liberty. To guarantee opportunity for the development and expression of human personalities a union was necessary.

Hamilton helped not only to inaugurate the Union, but to secure its firm establishment. By his financial acumen, he made certain the success of the national government. According to his biographer, H. C. Lodge, he created a public credit, supplied circulating media and financial machinery, revived business, and aided in transforming a paper Constitution into a document with a system and a government behind it. Hamilton put Nationalism into Americanism.

The super-champion in the establishment of the American Union was Washington. He laid the national foundations without the aid of a throne, of an aristocracy, or of a caste. In the Farewell Address, he focussed public attention upon the necessity of supporting the Union, and declared to the American people that the Union is a main pillar in the edifice of their real independence; it is the support of their safety, tranquility, and prosperity at home, of their peace abroad, and above all else, of that liberty which they so highly prized.

It was not in the spirit of a partisan that Washington worked, for he tried faithfully to draw together the leading representatives of the political parties of the day in the management of the government. He urgently warned against the evil influences of partisan politics. He consistently believed in the Union, not as an end in itself, but as a necessary means for guaranteeing the liberties of the individual. Washington rose to permanent fame as the pre-eminent leader of the forces of liberty; he rounded out his career in his later years by taking the leading rôle in establishing the Union.

Thomas Jefferson, in his first inaugural address, mentioned the importance of individual liberty before the law and of equal opportunity in changing the law. He then proceeded to stress the absolute need for a union of the states, for preserving the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, for the sacred preservation of the public faith. He modified this attitude somewhat by speaking for the rights of the state governments as the most competent administration of domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies.

The struggle in behalf of the Union went forward into the nineteenth century; the Union was championed by Webster and opposed by Hayne and Calhoun. Should an over-emphasis upon the ideal of Liberty and its political corollary, States' Rights, or should a strengthening of the Union and of federal control prevail? In the Senate of the United States and at the zenith of his greatness, Webster repudiated the probable results of making primary a theory of States'

Rights. He prayed that he might never see the sun in the heavens shining on "the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union, on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched it may be in fraternal blood!" Then achieving the height of his political power and patriotic sagacity, amid the silence of an awe-inspired Senate, he declared for "that other sentiment, dear to every American heart,— Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

However, a hungry-hearted and sorrow-burdened Lincoln was necessary before the whole nation was ready to accept Washington's earnest solicitation and Webster's pronouncement. The work of the able compromiser, Henry Clay, availed little. By 1858, the advocates of individual slavery and States' Rights had openly challenged the abolitionists and the supporters of the Union.

On June 16, 1858, at Springfield, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln asserted that "this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free"; he declared that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Again, the appeal was to the Union, not as an end for purposes of national glorification; but for safeguarding the liberties of the individual, and for the widest, most consistent expression of personality. Upon this basis, the Civil War was fought and won. Neither the ideal of Liberty nor of Union remained triumphant. Liberty without Union would wreck itself on the rocks of anarchy; Union without liberty would suffer the fate of a Prussianized state. Together they function: two essential foci of the ellipse of democracy. In our na-

tion individual liberty is safeguarded to the degree that it operates in ways consistent with or in support of public welfare; the Union is respected to the point where it cuts short the development of personality.

Union, politically, has its corollaries in several other phases of life in the United States. Our people started out with a common possession of civilized standards and aptitudes, which were socially inherited from Europe, chiefly from England. While divisions have occurred in American life, yet the fundamental cultural inheritance of civilized ideals has served to restore and maintain unity. Unto the original racial stock that came from Western Europe, other racial elements from all parts of the world have been added. The crude melting pot process has been supplemented by telic Americanization methods. While a distinct race in the biological sense has not yet developed, it is taking form, and some day, will become a reality. Out of the antagonistic characteristics of English and Irish, of Scotch and German, of Scandinavian and Italian, of Slav and Jew, there has come a remarkable degree of fundamental unity. In a generation or two in the United States, former differences and old prejudices disappear and the various races become united in laboring together and in looking forward. Millions of immigrant children have been trained by our public school system into a common loyalty to the United States.

The spirit of co-operation has begun to manifest itself in matters of conservation under the direction of persons like Pinchot, Roosevelt, and Hoover. A sub-

stantial unity of action has been secured in behalf of the conservation of national resources.

When the United States was asked to feed half the world, a food administration in whom the people had confidence was chosen to devise the necessary ways and means and to instruct rather than command the people. Then, without bread or meat cards, and without police enforcement, practically every American responded. The wealthy were asked to conserve most; the poor felt the food regulations least. In the spring of 1918 when vast additional quantities of wheat were needed for the Allies, Mr. Hoover called the managers of the leading hostelries of the country and of the dining car conductors of the chief railroad lines to Washington, explained to them the situation, and requested that all cease to serve white bread until the European need should be relieved by the new wheat crop. Unanimous co-operation was secured. All ceased to serve white bread, presenting the reasons on printed cards to the clientele, who accepted the conditions. Thus, building upon the voluntary action of the people, rather than upon compulsion, the United States Food Administration secured a co-operation so widespread that our European Allies were saved to the cause of democracy.

Co-operation is beginning to manifest itself in religious activities. Although religion has been made an affair of individual liberty in the United States and although many scores of distinct religious creeds have been promulgated, a reaction has begun which is uniting church bodies that were disrupted by the Civil War, which is bringing about co-operation in the form

of such organizations as the Men and Religion Forward Movement, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations, the Inter-Church World Movement, and which is augmenting the social force of religion by securing the co-operative efforts of Protestant, Catholic, and Jew.

The American proclivity for forming co-operative organizations is omnipresent. At the suggestion of a new idea in almost any line of thought, someone appoints a committee which draws up a constitution and by-laws, and immediately the machinery of the new organization begins to turn. The window of the ticket office opens and immediately if they have not already done so, the crowds "line up." Any American of prominence belongs to so many organizations that he can scarcely fulfil his obligations in any satisfactorily. The fact that our church life, school and college life, business and industrial life are over-organized implies that a noticeable degree of co-operative spirit exists in the United States.

Capital has established colossal and powerful organizations in our country. A complete picture of the corporate business life in the United States would be astounding and bewildering. On the other hand, millions of laboring men are unionized under the direction of one man — the head of the American Federation of labor. The co-operation of laboring men has now become so effective that it halts without notice the train service of an entire area, it shuts down the coal mines at the beginning of winter, and it secures wages that are more attractive than the salaries of profes-

sional people. The fact that stupendous conflicts between capital and labor are taking place need not blind anyone to the opposite fact that a far-reaching undercurrent has set in which apparently is destined to bring about industrial reconciliation and co-operation.

It is true that much of the co-operation that is now evident in the United States springs from selfish purposes. A thousand significant illustrations might be given, however, which would prove, despite political animosities, industrial strife, and material motives, the genuine unity of the people of our country. The reaction of our citizens, when they were once aroused to the impending dangers in 1917 is the most forceful case in point. With surprising unanimity the American people, although reared in the lap of a *laissez faire* social philosophy and hardened by a doctrinaire individualism, accepted the principle of conscription. The co-operative spirit of Americans of high and low estate was attested by the unprecedented support of the Red Cross and Liberty Loan campaigns. With one tremendous bound, the United States responded in April, 1917, to President Wilson's appeal to make the world safe for democracy.

It is noteworthy that the spirit of union and co-operation is symbolized in the Stars and Stripes. With thirteen parallel stripes for the original union of colonies, and with forty-eight stars in a common field for the unity today of the states; with red for the militant spirit of liberty and initiative, with white representing a democratic blending not only of the prismatic colors but of the varied-tempered personalities of the nation, with blue for the "true blue" spirit of union, co-opera-

tion, and brotherhood — with all these together, the Stars and Stripes, the Red, White, and Blue, the result is not only a beautiful ensign but the most expressive symbol of political union and social co-operation that is known to the world.

PROBLEMS

1. Why was the Confederacy of 1783 to 1789 a failure?
2. For what opposite elements in Americanism did Hamilton and Jefferson stand?
3. Why did Calhoun oppose the supremacy of the Union?
4. What was the cause of the Civil War?
5. In what phases of American life today has the spirit of union and co-operation entered extensively?
6. Were the people of the United States more united during the World War than at present?
7. Do intercollegiate football contests increase the co-operative spirit between colleges?
8. How can colleges and universities develop more co-operative spirit than they now possess?
9. Has the church as an institution played an important rôle in bringing together the varied elements in American life?
10. What are the dangers of over-organization in the United States?
11. What causes people to want to co-operate?

Chapter IV

AMERICAN IDEALS: DEMOCRACY AND JUSTICE

The third set of golden threads which has been woven into the fabric of Americanism is democracy and justice. A democracy is a group in which the individual members are ruling. From this common rulership and this give-and-take between individuals there vicariously arises the substance and form of justice.

Democracy was introduced to the world by the city-states of Greece, given trenchant meaning in the teachings of early Christianity, extended by the Magna Charta, revitalized by the Protestant reformers, and accorded unprecedented opportunities in the United States. Here it has evolved from humble but sturdy beginnings, has made advance in spite of aristocratic prejudices, has become nationalized, pan-Americanized, and internationalized.

Shortly before landing, the Pilgrim Fathers formulated a statement of the democratic ideals which they proposed to serve. While the inception of these ideals may be traced in their origins to English, French, and Dutch developments of thought, and even to the Grecian democracies, it is also significant that the "Mayflower" Compact was drawn up nearly thirty years before the adoption of the "Agreement of the People" in the time of Cromwell; that it was signed seventy years

previous to the appearance of the "Treatises on Government" by John Locke, which developed the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people; and that it antedated the *Contrat social* of Rousseau by 142 years.

The "Mayflower" Pilgrims agreed to unite in "a civil body politic." This organization of the people was to be a means, not an end; it was to enact just and equal laws that would be "for ye general good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." It was an instrument of the people, to be used for the benefit of this self-same people. It declared that *law,* and not the arbitrary and capricious will of any individual, such as a king, should be the basis of government. The content and spirit of law was to be measured by "ye general good of ye Colonie," that is, by public welfare.

Democracy in the United States has swung back and forth between abstract equality on one hand and practical fraternity on the other. According to the "Mayflower" covenant, the Pilgrim Fathers desired democracy for their own small group. The Puritans proper held an even more circumscribed view of democracy than the Separatist Puritans, or Pilgrims. From a more or less intolerant, bigoted, and microcosmic democracy for the members of a small religious group to a world-must-be-made-safe-for-democracy ideal is a long, long journey. Nevertheless, it is the distance which has been traversed in America between December 21, 1620 and April 2, 1917. It is the ground which has been covered between the days of the localized democracy of the Pilgrims and the world-wide democracy of President Wilson. The intervening decades have witnessed the vacillating but increasingly

successful experiments in the United States to adapt and to interpret the principles of democracy in the deepening and enlarging spheres of individual, national, pan-American, and international activities.

By the close of the Revolutionary War period, democracy had been given common currency in terms of political equality — equality of the rights of individuals before the law. It had come to signify the supremacy of civil law made by the people, over the rule of military authority, expressed autocratically. It meant the sovereignty of the people in contrast to the domination of kings. It provided for the free exercise of the individual intellect in matters of government without interference by arbitrary power. It founded governmental authority on the consent of the governed as determined by the will of majorities and pluralities. It offered protection of the fundamental needs of the individual, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

These principles culminated in the life-work of Thomas Jefferson, who has been called the first prophet of American democracy. Jefferson advocated democracy through a jealous care of popular suffrage; democracy, through absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority; democracy, through maintaining the supremacy of civil over military authority, reducing the latter to a well-disciplined militia; democracy, through rendering justice to all men regardless of belief or condition; democracy, through diffusing information and arraigning all abuse at the bar of public reason.

In 1823, President James Monroe, acting in line

with the previous declaration of John Quincy Adams and having the support of the English statesman, John Canning, startled the civilized world when he asserted that not only the United States, but the Central and the South American commonwealths were henceforth to be preserved inviolate for experiments in democracy. Under the protecting influence of the Stars and Stripes, democracy was placed on trial in both Americas — free from further intervention or colonization by autocratic European governments. President Monroe insisted that the political systems of the European powers were essentially different from government in America and that therefore "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." Further, we could not look upon any interposition for the purpose of oppressing the independent Central and South American democracies, or controlling in any manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

In those daring words, the world was informed that henceforth the Americas were to be left free from European autocratic influence in developing the spirit of democracy. By 1823, the Western Hemisphere had been reserved as an experimental laboratory in democracy.

While these experiments are today far from a successful culmination, the United States has succeeded in maintaining effectively its political guardianship over democratic efforts in the sister American republics.

Both Europe and Asia have cast longing eyes toward Central and South America. Even a war between Great Britain and the United States over boundary lines between Venezuela and British Guiana seemed imminent, after Great Britain had refused to submit the dispute to arbitration. But President Cleveland in clear, staunch defense of the Monroe Doctrine intimated his readiness to employ military force, and thereby sent a tremor of respect for the Monroe Doctrine throughout England. The forceful action of President Cleveland caused England to reverse her earlier decision and to decide to submit to arbitration. As a result, the Monroe Doctrine acquired a more real meaning than it had hitherto possessed. Our defense of democracy in the Western Hemisphere had become a reality.

Through manipulation and intrigue in Mexico, Germany almost succeeded in 1917 in alienating that republic from pan-American loyalty. Through perfidy and secret machinations in the United States, Germany likewise was nearly successful in confounding democracy in our own republic. Fortunately, democracy in the United States has righted itself; and in the republics to the south, it has taken on new life because of the Monroe Doctrine, of Cleveland's brave support of that doctrine, and of the entry of the United States into the World War for democracy. The extension of the principle of democracy bids fair to continue, undisturbed by European intervention, in the twenty-two American republics.

The days of Monroe were followed by increased national suffering, due to the disturbing thorn of sla-

very in the side of democracy. The situation became acute under the piercing and prodding declaration of the abolitionists — William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Ward Beecher, John Brown. These persons uttered a message which in composite form constituted virtually a second Declaration of Independence.

When the first Declaration was drafted, the white race alone had been included. The black race was then considered a distinctively lower type. The idea did not occur that the Negro might be potentially on the same general plane as the Caucasian and possessed of the same human needs. Time, however, produced new conceptions. The black man was seen to be as human as the white man. The inconsistency of slavery in the land of democracy smote many exponents of democracy to silence, and raised the voices of her fearless champions in persistent protest.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill, the Dred Scott decision, the historic house-divided-against-itself speech of Lincoln at Springfield brought the main issue clearly before the nation. Lincoln proclaimed that our democracy could not endure permanently "half slave and half free." The issue was: Shall the concepts of Liberty (for the Negro) and Union (for the nation) be expanded? This problem finally rent the nation; but even at the darkest hours of the contest, Lincoln audaciously announced that all persons held as slaves in the rebellious South were "thenceforth and forever free"; and that their freedom would be recognized and enforced by the army and navy. Lincoln declared that this act of emancipation was warranted by the Consti-

tution — a new interpretation of the Constitution involving an extension of the concept of democracy.

Then came the memorable Gettysburg Speech, enshrining the Union dead in the flag of a new freedom which included Negro as well as Caucasian, re-defining a Union whose power to hold itself intact was never again to be seriously questioned, and basing democracy upon a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Thus, Lincoln extended the idea of liberty, saved the Union, and created a higher concept of democracy — a three-fold achievement.

In the decades following the close of the Civil War, the Westward Movement culminated. Days of material advancement and national prosperity came, halted briefly by the panic of 1873. Industrial and business organizations multiplied rapidly and grew in power and affluence. The effect upon democracy was tremendous and alarming. No less an American than Ralph Waldo Emerson in an address on "The Fortune of the Republic" in 1878, said:

"In this country with our practical understanding, there is, at present, a great sensualism, a headlong devotion to trade and to the conquest of the continent,— to each man as large a share of the same as he can carve for himself,—an extravagant confidence in our talent and activity, which becomes, whilst successful, a scornful materialism. . . . The American marches with a careless swagger to the height of power, very heedless of his own liberty or of other peoples', in his reckless confidence that he can have all he wants, risking all the prized charters of the human race, bought

with battles and revolutions and religion,— gambling all away for a paltry, selfish gain."

By 1890, however, a new democratic conscience was beginning to express itself. It was a conscience that opposed the evils of the new material prosperity and power; it manifested itself frequently in hate and attack. Muck-raking thrived; it ultimately grew into the constructive social survey. Individuals without any acquaintance with social science expressed themselves in angry opposition to the Beef Trust, the Oil Trust, the Steel Trust. The Prohibition movement was in the fractious Carrie Nation stage, and was typical of much of the social procedure of the times. It has been well said that many leading Americans still manifested the characteristics of Buffalo Bill.

The apex of the emphasis upon materialistic power was reached in the closing years of the nineteenth century. At that time, also, there came the climax of the imperialistic tendencies of the nation. The war with Spain caused patriotism in the United States to become noticeably inflated, egotistic, spectacular, imperialistic. Many individuals proclaimed the ideal, "My country, right or worng." Representative citizens dreamed of the future United States as a vast world empire. Many persons believed that it was the manifest destiny of their country to release one small nation or group of peoples after another from political bondage and to add them to the possessions of the United States.

Materialism and imperialism were the most insidious foes of American democracy at the dawn of the twentieth century. In speaking of these dangers, Royal Dixon in his book, *Americanization,* said that "the

threatened wreck of the entire morale of the republic in graft, dishonesty, and money tyranny, led us to discover one sin after another until we were disgusted with ourselves as a nation." Even Elihu Root raised the significant question: "Have selfish living and factional quarreling obscured the spiritual vision of our country?" There was a notorious tendency to worship speed, bigness, extravagance. Many people seemed to worship these low and false ideals and "to place them above family honor, national honor, above church, creed, art, letters, music."

The United States has probably passed safely through the perils of materialistic machinations and the dangers of imperialistic desires. After becoming president in 1901, Theodore Roosevelt defied the entrenched giants of political and economic power, inaugurated, at the suggestion of Gifford Pinchot, the conservation movement, proceeded to upset established special privilege, and re-defined democracy in terms of "the square deal for everybody."

In taking a stand against economic autocracy at home and political autocracy abroad, Roosevelt urged that the United States support unflinchingly the right "whenever the right is menaced by the might which backs wrong." With this doctrine, Roosevelt coupled a military preparedness interpretation of Americanism. The only way that the United States can oppose successfully the wrong which is urged forward by might, is to put over against it the right that is also supported by might. Instead of putting national safety first, Roosevelt stood for national honor and duty first.

There are three main elements in Americanism as

stated in his Knights of Columbus Speech in 1915: (1) the establishment of a common language — the English — for all Americans; (2) the increase of our national and social loyalty by the development of "a citizenship which acknowledges no flag except the flag of the United States and which emphatically repudiates all duality of intention or national unity"; and (3) "an intelligent and resolute effort for the removal of industrial and social unrest, an effort which shall aim equally at securing every man his rights and to make every man understand that unless he in good faith performs his duties he is not entitled to any rights at all."[1]

Woodrow Wilson was the product, in part, of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy. His party heritage gave promise that he would advance the cause of democracy. His most ardent admirers, however, did not suspect the degree to which he would go in extending the concept of democracy. On April 3, 1917, before both houses of Congress assembled together, he declared that "the world must be made safe for democracy." Nothing smaller than the *world* was thereafter to be the laboratory of democracy. "Our globe has shrunk too small for democratic and autocratic states to subsist together, nor can Ocean herself constrain them in separation."[2]

[1]It was in Roosevelt that H. G. Wells (*Future in America,* p. 253) found an epitome of America's strong and weak points. The first include (1) force, (2) sustained courage, (3) integrity, and (4) open intelligence; the latter embrace (1) undisciplined hastiness, (2) unfairness, (3) prejudices, and (4) frequent errors.

[2]H. B. Alexander, "Americanism," *New Republic,* January 5, 1918, p. 271.

President Wilson, reading the mind of the United States aright and speaking in line with the developing conception of democracy and justice in the United States, bade defiance in his now classic phrase to the strongholds of political autocracy the world around. Monroe was out-Monroed. The conception of democracy that was held by the Pilgrim liberty-seekers was a doctrine applicable primarily to themselves alone. From that mustard seed, the plant has grown until its branches are now to protect all the inhabitants of the earth. From democracy for one hundred persons, to democracy for the eighteen or nineteen hundred million people of the world — such is the unfolding of the conception of democracy in the minds and hearts of our citizens.

The entrance of the United States into World War gave rise to a renaissance of democracy and justice that will ultimately destroy not only the thrones of political but of other types of autocracy as well. These struggles, however, will extend over many decades and even centuries. In fact, in the months and years following the signing of the Armistice in 1918, the people of the United States suffered greatly from the reactionary effects of the strain and tensions of the preceding period of war. Many individuals manifested a return to the principles of autocracy, of selfish nationalism, and of greedy materialism. Orgies of extravagance occurred. The idealism which President Wilson had voiced in 1917 suffered terrific jolts. Nevertheless, life in the United States remained sound. A strong undercurrent of rational peace-time patriotism developed.

The analysis of democracy and justice is proceeding apace; individuals and organizations are struggling forward, through democratic means to new and more complete forms of justice. The community organization movement is giving birth to a new sense of group and neighborhood consciousness. The culmination of the woman suffrage movement is a distinct victory for justice to women. The broadcast experiments in industrial democracy indicate that the nation is sooner or later to be saved from the injustices of capitalism as well as from the injustices of Bolshevism.

In the United States, democracy is assuming several clear outlines. The practices of our people are surely. but slowly, painfully, and vicariously approaching democratic ideals.

(1) The best known type is political democracy. which regards political life as possessing two foci: one, the individual; the other, the nation-state. The latter exists to safeguard and to encourage the growth of personality. The liberty of the individual ends when it conflicts with the welfare of majority of his fellows in any group of which he may be a member. Political democracy views the nation-state as the totality of legalized relations instituted for the benefit of the citizenry. While it recognizes the existence of inherited inequality, it tries to guarantee that whatever inherited equality there is shall be preserved in all the circumstances of life.

In the United States today, there is a conflict between a republican democracy and a democratic democracy. In these terms, there is no special reference to political parties. According to the theory of a republi-

can democracy, individuals who are elected to office are specialists and are expected to vote as their judgment dictates. In a democratic democracy, the elected representatives are expected to represent the judgment of their constituents. The first mentioned method includes the Aristotelian and aristocratic concept of government by the best few. The other procedure is purely democratic in principle and implies that the ordinary citizen is able to express his independent judgment on all public questions and that he keeps his political representatives informed in regard to his attitudes on legislative questions.

One of these methods throws the actual determination of legislation into the hands of a temporarily aristocratic few, who will be tempted to act secretly and autocratically. The other *modus operandi* puts public decisions into the hands of the common people who may not have the education or the inclination to decide independently and regularly upon public questions. The tendency in the United States is toward a dualistic use of these two forms of political procedure, whereby complex technical questions are left to specialists, while broad, fundamental issues are referred to the common people for decision.

(2) Religious democracy has always been a fundamental principle of life in our country. It includes the right to worship as one's conscience and judgment dictate without compulsion from others or from the state. The religious views of one person have equal standing before the law with those of every other person.

Despite the fact, however, that religious groups have

often been undemocratic in both their beliefs and organizations, they have been manifesting within recent years sincere desires and successful attempts to extricate themselves from dogmatic attitudes and autocratic ways. Within the last two or three decades the religious bodies in the United States have been slowly changing their own nature, making it democratic; and at the same time, they have been speaking with increasing force in behalf of industrial democracy and of democracy in all the other main phases of life.

(3) Ethical democracy in the United States signifies that there is one right for all men everywhere, and that there is "one ultimate standard of righteousness for all the world." The ethics of Christian and Jewish faiths constitute the moral foundations of the United States. In 1884, James Russell Lowell, the foremost American at that time, proclaimed Christ the first true ethical democrat who ever lived. The wealthy and the poor, the distinguished and the unknown are tested in our land at the bar of public opinion by the same high standards of right and wrong, that is, by the ethical standards of the Christian and Jewish religions.

(4) Personal democracy gives adequate opportunity for the development of all the individual and social phases of one's personality. It means that the individual makes a fairly accurate evaluation of all his powers and a well-balanced, consistent expression of them.

As an ideal, personal democracy is an outgrowth of that other sentiment, personal liberty. The latter is likely to become arbitrary and anarchistic. But per-

sonal democracy is more scientific in its nature and hence more sensible and social. It signifies a balanced expression of the powers of the individual, and it also means that the individual in his self-assertion and demand for liberty is governed by the welfare of the other members of all the groups to which he belongs.

(5) Intellectual democracy represents the principle that practically every individual is potentially able to appreciate the largest intellectual meanings of life. Intellectual democracy also means that "the best of culture should be made the possession of all the people." While it does not overlook mental differences, and would not reduce all individuals to a level, it believes that all the permanently significant ideas should be brought and can be brought to the attention of all potentially capable persons.

Intellectual democracy holds that all individuals should be able to think independently and to make individual judgments upon the leading questions of the day. Every normal individual should be trained to comprehend the meaning of the major public problems of his time, and to be able to take intelligent attitudes toward these problems. In other words, the success of political democracy, for example, depends directly on the development of intellectual democracy. The latter is a barometer of the former.

The ideal of intellectual democracy is that *all* the people should have access to, and be stimulated to avail themselves of the best and the most useful knowledge. This ideal in the United States signifies that we shall have a nation of people, all of whom are well-grounded in the principles of sound individual and social living,

broad in sympathies and vision, courageous yet kind, and always at work achieving something for the betterment of the nation and mankind. To this end, the United States is officially spending hundreds of millions of dollars annually, employing hundreds of thousands of teachers, educating one-fifth of her population at any given time during the school year, and developing the public school as the most democratic institution in the country.

In an intellectual democracy, education as such gives no one a right to feel a superiority over his fellow citizens. It gives one a sane and kindly vision which impels him to help others to obtain the same educational advantages which he has enjoyed. It does not permit him to use his education to play "smart tricks" upon his fellow beings, to exploit the unsophisticated in any line of activity, or to parade his superiority before the public. It increases his sense of obligation to help solve public problems.

(6) Industrial democracy is an organization of the economic forces of the country about human values rather than about things or monetary values. It is opposed to an aristocracy of wealth. It believes that a financial autocracy and a political autocracy are equally bad and that the downfall of the former must follow the downfall of the latter. It declares that wealth is power — social power, and that the holders of wealth are under special obligations to the public and the nation.

The following principles of industrial democracy are being worked out in the United States:

(a) Human values are more important than material values.

(b) Property must not be acquired at the expense of human lives.

(c) Property must not be used to blight the lives of individuals.

(d) Not equality of possession but equal right by labor to obtain food, air, clothing, and the physical and spiritual amenities of life.

(e) Paying the employee, not as low wages as he will take, but as much as he earns.

(f) Giving the employee a voice in the management of industry.

These and other principles of industrial democracy are being developed on the basis that there are three vitally concerned factors, namely, labor, capital, and the consumer or the public. The first place of importance is being given to the needs of the consumer; the second, to the human element in production, that is, to labor; and the third, to stored up labor, or capital.

(7) Social democracy is the socialization of all the opportunities of life. It denies the final importance, according to J. S. Mackenzie, of social distinctions, such as those of race, sex, nationality, education, ability. It leads to the conservation of life and health, and to the democratization of education and of the production and consumption of economic goods.

Social democracy involves acting together. The development of personalities is the goal, but this evolution must keep within the lines set by the common good. It has been aptly said that there will be classes, but no one class shall rule; there will be class divisions

but no insurmountable barriers between them; there will be a kingdom, not of "kings" but of persons. Each member of a social democracy will have a full opportunity for developing all his potentially useful qualities. In a social democracy, individuals strive with one another in the development of the richest and most helpful personalities.

In the United States, social democracy has meant an increasing degree of equality in the home. The wife and mother is now being considered an equal in authority and responsibility with the husband and father. We are passing from an autocratic to a democratic family life.

The spirit of social democracy is well illustrated in a letter from one of our wounded American heroes of the Argonne. It stated that in a trainload of wounded soldiers who were speeding homeward across the plains of our country there was no mention of the Mayflower, no hint of ancestor worship, no reference to antecedents, no questioning about financial or social status. "If a fellow is a good scout and a square shooter, he is at once admitted into the great fraternity of man."

(8) Spiritual democracy refers to the rulership of the highest spiritual value in life, namely, love. Love surpasses even justice. It releases the spirit of the individual from the bondage of selfish activities. It produces genuinely happy and progressive community life. In the United States there are many people who have caught the spiritual vision not only for their own lives but for their nation.

A sense of spiritual democracy is born out of suffering. W. L. Stidger in his *Soldier Silhouettes on Our*

Front relates the incident of a lad who went through the battle of Belleau Wood. He came through alive, but terribly wounded. His face was ugly to look upon. "I may look awful," he said, "but I'm a new man inside. What I saw out there in the woods made me different, somehow. I saw a friend stand by his machine-gun, with a whole platoon of Germans sweeping down on him, and he never flinched. He fired that old gun until every bullet was gone and his gun was red-hot. I was lying in the grass where I could see it all. I saw them bayonet him. He fought to the last against fifty men, but thank God, he died a man; he died an American. I lay there and cried to see them kill him, but every time I think of that fellow it makes me want to be more of a man. When I get back home I'm going to give my life to some kind of Christian service. I'm going to do it because I saw that man die so bravely. If he can die like that, in spite of my face, I can live like a man."

These ideals of democracy and justice are in process of development in the United States. It is safe to state that the complete ideal in any case has not been attained, but the ideals as a class indicate the nature and direction of the fundamental strivings of the people of our nation.

PROBLEMS

1. What is your definition of democracy?
2. Can democracy be efficient?
3. Why did the Revolutionary War make further revolution unnecessary in this country?

4. Why did Jefferson fail to include the Negro in his conception of democracy?
5. What was Lincoln's chief contribution to Americanism?
6. Illustrate President Roosevelt's meaning of the term, the square deal.
7. Illustrate President Wilson's phrase: "The world must be made safe for democracy."
8. Explain: "Democracy must be made safe for the world."
9. Would it be possible or desirable to have a social democracy without classes?
10. Is the spirit of democracy greater in the United States or in England?
11. Has the spirit of democracy in the United States increased or decreased since the close of the World War?
12. What phase of our ideal of democracy has developed the most in the last ten years?
13. How can a student personally promote the spirit of democracy in his college or university?

Chapter V.

AMERICAN IDEALS: INTERNATIONALISM AND BROTHERHOOD

A nation cannot exist without developing attitudes toward and relations with other nations. The ideals which are disclosed by these attitudes and practices constitute a nation's internationalism.

The internationalism of the United States received its initial and official recognition through Washington and Jefferson. They agreed that the United States should advance her commercial interests throughout the world, but politically she should hold herself aloof from entangling alliances. In any relations that might arise with foreign powers, she should deal honestly and in good faith. In those early days her main interest was in national self-building.

Monroe and Adams added a new factor. They pointed out that our political aims and structure were different from the prevailing types in Europe at that time — and thus gave an added reason for aloofness in international politics. They went further and defined a type of political protectorate for the United States to assume over the democracies to her south. She was not to meddle in European situations, and in return, the European nations were to refrain from meddling with the affairs of any American republic.

This principle has been tentatively invoked several

times. In 1865-1866, it was used to cause the French to withdraw from Mexico. In 1895, President Cleveland clothed the Monroe Doctrine with new power when he announced to Great Britain and the world that he would use if necessary our army and navy in its support. As a result, Great Britain consented, although reluctantly, to respect our will in the Venezuela controversy.

During the administration of McKinley, the United States announced another international ideal of far-reaching importance. Spain had long oppressed the Cubans. The situation was growing worse and the United States was beginning to assert itself, when the destruction of the "Maine" precipitated war. In consequence, a weak people was freed from the tyranny of Spain. Then came the crucial hour. Should we listen to the clamor of the imperialists, and annex Cuba, as victorious nations had been accustomed to do in the past? No, we decided that we would set Cuba on her feet as a nation and guarantee her independence among the nations of the world. By this decision we demonstrated our national unselfishness, and essentially created a new international ideal for the world to think about — and ultimately to adopt.

With new clearness President Roosevelt put the ideal of international justice before the people of the United States. He proclaimed that "no weak nation that ever acts manfully and justly should ever have cause to fear us, and no strong power should ever be able to single us out as a subject for insolent aggression." As a strong nation we must not wrong others, nor allow others to wrong us. We shall be right first

and then keep our whole might ready to defend ourselves.

President Taft, especially in his efforts in behalf of the League to Enforce Peace, represented the international ideals of many citizens of the United States. The plan of the American League to Enforce Peace supported a league of nations in which all agree: (1) that legal international controversies shall be heard and decided by a court; (2) that controversies not to be settled on principles of law shall be submitted to a commission of conciliation who shall recommend a settlement; (3) that the united forces of the League shall resist any nation which begins war before the quarrel has been submitted to one tribunal or the other, and has been decided. This plan would enforce peace until after the peaceable procedure of adjustment had taken place and a decision rendered. It would not force either party to the controversy to abide by the decisions of the tribunal, although public opinion would operate in the direction of enforcement. Further, the deliberation and the accompanying delay would tend to prevent almost all wars.

The "treaty plan" of internationalism that was inaugurated by William J. Bryan proceeded on the proposition that the United States should make treaties with every civilized nation to the effect that a dispute of any kind shall, before hostilities begin, be submitted to an international tribunal for an investigation and a report. The plan substituted treaties for a League, and moral suasion for compulsion.

President Wilson voiced an international ideal for the United States which would build up a League of

Nations that would not enforce peace so much as it would attract all democratic nations into it. No nation would want to be left out. In the spirit of mutual friendliness, not of jealousy, the nations would abide by the rules of the League, and through their representatives would work out principles of world progress. Secondarily, they would guarantee the peace of the world.

By this internationalization of the spirit of democracy, President Wilson definitely made the United States a world factor in the struggle for democracy instead of a world force for imperial dominion. He proclaimed the United States to be a spirit of unselfish good will among the nations of the earth. He responded to Emerson's call for men of original perception and action, "who can open their eyes wider than to a nationality, namely, to considerations of benefit to the human race,— can act in the interest of civilization."

To liberty for the individual, co-operation and democracy within the nation, President Wilson created a new ideal — an international ideal — when he openly and forcefully declared for an organization of the world. The United States will no longer consider world problems from a selfish national standpoint, but from the standpoint of world welfare. President Wilson announced that the independence of the United States is not a selfish thing, for her own national use. He defined an American as a person who wants to share the liberty and rights he enjoys in America with the whole world, who wants his nation to keep its promises to other nations even to its own loss, and

who is never prouder of the Stars and Stripes than when it means to other nations as well as to himself a symbol of hope and liberty.

The United States will achieve her highest mission, according to the ideal of internationalism that was enunciated by President Wilson, when all the world shall know that she puts human rights above material and all other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of the United States but of humanity. In speaking to newly naturalized citizens in 1915 in Philadelphia, President Wilson gave the paradoxical injunction, "not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity." The cause of the United States is not confined to the American continent, but is nothing less than the cause of humanity. No American should feel any exhilaration in belonging to America, if he does not feel that she is "something more than a rich and powerful nation."

In defining American ideals in terms of making the world safe for democracy and of organizing the friendship of the world, President Wilson pushed Americanism to its highest expression. In addition to international justice, he spoke in terms of international friendship and love. According to this ideal, the United States has no selfish national ends to serve. She desires no conquest and no dominion. She seeks no indemnities for herself and no material compensation for the sacrifices which she shall freely make in fighting the battles of democracy. She is but "one of the champions of the rights of mankind."

Imperialistic machinations by the United States were set at rest by President Wilson. He publicly and official-

ly stated that the United States did not seek to spread her ideals by first making political conquests, but that she has reversed this notorious policy which has been in vogue in the world from the days of Hammurabi to Wilhelm II. Americanism today signifies that the United States is to proceed in the direction of world friendship, co-operation, and usefulness, by sacrificing without stint to help any nation in the fight of right against might and of democratic control against autocratic domination. The only empire to which she aspires is that which exists in the minds and hearts of grateful peoples.

Furthermore, the lead that has been taken by the United States in announcing a policy of having nc selfish national ends to serve will sooner or later be followed by all self-respecting nations. No nation of standing will dare to fall far behind the example set by the United States in matters of internationalism and brotherhood.

The love of peace is a phase of the ideals of internationalism and brotherhood that have been voiced by our country. While we have fought several wars, we have usually striven faithfully to avoid war. We are a peace-loving people. In order to maintain the peace of the world, we believe that the nations should speak openly and frankly to each other, that they should not stand too much on national pride, that they should give up the balance of power scheme for an organization of friendship.

Internationalism as a phase of Americanism is still in an undeveloped form. It is still almost entirely a political concept. At various times the United States

has been called upon to decide whether (1) to form permanently defensive and offensive alliances with specific countries, or (2) to co-operate temporarily with this or that group of countries long enough to attain a specific object, or (3) to decide what rôle she shall play in a League of Nations. The first method she has avoided; the second, she has on occasion adopted; and the third, she has favorably considered. According to the ideal of internationalism stated by President Wilson, the United States should lead the world in a just organization of all the democratic nations. In this organization she should endeavor to safeguard all the social values that are found in nationalism and at the same time to protect the nations from the worst forces that exist in any of the nations or in any combination of them.

Brotherhood, with its implication of love, as a phase of Americanism is still pretty much of a myth. It has not yet been widely practiced. It signifies, in the words of David Jayne Hill, that the United States shall lead the peoples of the world "in making human life safer, human endeavor loftier, human suffering less cruel, human toil more equitably rewarded, and human fraternity more real, more noble, and more sincere."

From liberty-loving Americanism to world-loving Americanism is a broad sweep. Both extremes must be preserved and developed and made continually to revolve about the solid center of a co-operative and democratic nation-state. By itself, either extreme might lead to fatal weakness. The first, alone, becomes anarchism, autocracy, materialism. The second, by itself, becomes fanciful, visionary, and impractica-

ble. Sometimes the United States has been called utilitarian and sometimes idealistic. As a matter of fact, she is both. She is engaged in combining the two conflicting principles into a balanced and single system. She is working out a utilitarian idealism.

Utility has been at times an omnipresent standard in the United States. It has occasionally crushed out idealism. It has resulted in ignoble deference to material success. In Chapter VII, several types of practices will be described which indicate the degree to which idealism even now is being ignored in the United States. The over-emphasis, however, upon utility, as opposed to ideals, has been enervating but not fatal. Suffice it to say here that whenever a crisis has arisen, the underlying idealism of the people of the United States has come to the surface with an alacrity and a strength that has set the nation right and surprised the world.

PROBLEMS

1. How do you define internationalism?
2. What different types of internationalism can you name?
3. Why has the term, internationalist, been in disrepute among certain people?
4. What attitude should be taken toward Washington's injunction to avoid entangling alliances?
5. By what right has the United States enforced the Monroe Doctrine?

6. What is the chief difference between the Rooseveltian and the Wilsonian ideal of internationalism?
7. Can there be a higher and larger definition of Americanism than that of President Wilson?
8. Why did the United States verge toward imperialism at the close of the Spanish-American war?
9. What is the relation of internationalism to the brotherhood of man principle?
10. Should the United States in her desire for world advancement agree to some law by treaty which is unfair to her own interests?
11. What advantages does the United States possess for the task of leading the world toward a genuine internationalism?
12. Is it possible to think first of the United States and at the same time to think first of the interests of humanity?
13. Why does our underlying idealism come to the surface only in times of national crisis?
14. Under the present world economic conditions, can a League of Nations succeed?
15. Why have the attempts in the past to secure international peace failed?
16. Should we strive for a brotherhood of nations, or a brotherhood of individuals?
17. Will the culmination of internationalism and brotherhood be one race and one civilization?
18. Will we have real internationalism and brotherhood until the entire world accepts Christianity?
19. What would you say is the dominant ideal of the people of the United States today?

PART II

THE NATIVE-BORN AND AMERICAN IDEALS

Chapter VI

A RACIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

It is necessary to introduce Parts Two and Three with a discussion of the racial history of the United States. Before we consider each leading racial group in our country in its relations to American ideals, it will be helpful to get an historical view of the coming of the various races to our shores.

There were originally no native races on the American continent. At an early date, peoples of Mongolian type migrated to America either by way of Europe when Europe and America were connected by land; or by way of the Pacific Ocean, having drifted across; or more probably, by way of Alaska when Asia and Alaska were joined by land. The original pioneers became the ancestors of the mound-builders, who in turn were the ancestors of the Indians. The first inhabitants of what is now the United States were the early ancestors of the Indian.

About 1000 A. D., daring representatives of the Scandinavian races became the second discoverers of America. They were not ready, or not able, to make settlements. After having been discovered by unknown Mongolians, and by Scandinavians, America was discovered for the third time by Italian and Spanish navigators under the leadership of Christopher Columbus. It was these voyagers who opened America to European civilization. In this connection the first settlements were made by Spanish colonists — the second racial group, after the Mongolian, to become established in America. Being southerners, they settled in Florida, New Mexico, and California. They founded the first and oldest European towns in the United States — St. Augustine, Florida; Chamita, New Mexico; and Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The French established trading posts in Mississippi Valley, following the explorations of La Salle in 1582. This territory remained in French hands until 1803, the year of the Louisiana Purchase. The Huguenots, sometimes called the Puritans of France, came to America in the seventeenth century, settling chiefly in South Carolina, Virginia, and New York.

The English were the third race to settle within the present boundaries of our national domain. Their early settlements in 1607, 1620, 1630 laid the foundations which gave the United States its characteristic tendencies.

The Hollanders set up trading posts along the Hudson River in the decade following the exploration in 1609 of that river, and established a colony which came into the hands of the English in 1664.

In 1619, a few Negroes were brought to America by Dutch traders. The slave traffic increased with the succeeding years. By 1790, the Negro population of the country had reached 757,000, or 19 per cent of the entire population — a higher percentage than has since obtained.

Swedish voyagers settled on the Delaware River in 1838, and established a colony which ultimately came under English control. These people constituted the second Scandinavian group to migrate to America. After the close of the Civil War the third, largest, and final Scandinavian migration began.

At the behest of the agents of William Penn, German immigrants came from the Palatinate region in 1682. Germantown was their chief settlement. The German migration, however, did not culminate until 1854 and 1882.

The Scotch-Irish migrated in the first half of the eighteenth century, and came in larger numbers than any other race in that century. The largest influx arrived about 1718 and 1719. They came chiefly to the localities of which Philadelphia and Baltimore were the centers. They migrated westward into the unsettled portions of Pennsylvania, crossed the mountains into Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and thence into the Middle West. Among the pioneers of the Westward Movement in our country, the Scotch-Irish were the chief. Many of their numbers traversed the valleys into the Appalachian fastnesses and together with early Anglo-Saxons became the ancestors of the present-day Appalachian mountaineers.

During the first years of the Republic, immigration

averaged about 7,000 persons a year. About 200,000 immigrants, according to the best estimate, came to the United States during the entire period between 1789 and 1820.

The first actual figures of immigration were secured for the year 1820. In that initial annual statement, the coming of 8,385 immigrants is recorded. The United Kingdom furnished 6,024 of that number; Germany, 968; France, 371; and Spain, 139. A student of the history of immigration could make several significant comparisons between this brief table of figures and the recent annual reports on immigration of four hundred pages each, or with the statistics for the year 1914, when 1,218,000 immigrants arrived.

The first marked rise in immigration occurred in 1827 and 1828, following a commercial depression in England. In 1842, the one hundred thousand level was passed. The year 1854 marks the culmination of a high tide which held the record of immigration until 1873. In 1854, more than 427,000 immigrants arrived.

The leading causes of this large immigration were two-fold. The potato famine and the economic oppression in Ireland in 1846 and in the succeeding years caused a large Irish emigration. In 1851, 272,000 Irish came to the United States and constituted the largest Irish immigration in any one year to our country. The other cause of increased immigration to the United States was the political revolution in the German states which began in 1848. In 1854, the number of Germans who came was 215,000, a number which has been exceeded but once — in 1882. In 1854, over 87

per cent of the total immigration was furnished by the two sources, Irish and German.

Until 1850, immigrants came to the United States in sailing vessels. As late as 1864, the majority were still coming in sailing vessels, but in the following year the majority migrated in steamships. This change in the means of transportation lessened greatly the dangers of crossing the Atlantic. It also meant that American owned ships lost first place in carrying immigrants.

Immigration reached a low point during the Civil War but rapidly increased during the years which followed the close of the war. In 1873, nearly 460,000 immigrants were admitted. The completion of the first transcontinental railroad, the opening and development of the West, and the returning prosperity after the war were the chief causes of the influx which reached its height in 1873. It was at this time that the third and largest immigration of the Scandinavians began. Then came an industrial panic which resulted in decreased immigration.

In 1882, the immigration figures made a new record; they exceeded 788,000. At this time, Scandinavian immigration reached its highest point. The development of Minnesota, the Dakotas, and the neighboring states was the strong attraction to the Scandinavians. At this time, also, German migration reached its greatest height. The Hebrews, partly because of severe persecutions in Russia, contributed in increasing numbers to the stream of immigration. The Chinese immigration which began with the discovery of gold in California, which increased rapidly at the time of the

railroad expansion, culminated in 1882. That year also marks the passage of the first Chinese Exclusion Act and the adoption of the first inclusive federal immigration law.

For many other reasons, the year 1882 is remarkable in immigration history. It was a central date in the shifting in the sources of immigration: (a) from Western Europe to Eastern and Southern Europe; (b) from countries with representative institutions and popular governments to countries under the control of absolute monarchs; (c) from lands where education was more or less universal to lands where illiteracy prevailed; (d) from races chiefly Teutonic to races chiefly Italic, Slavic, and Semitic; and (e) from Protestant sources to Catholic sources.

After 1882 the number of immigrants decreased, but was mounting upward again when halted by the industrial depression from 1894 to 1898. With returning prosperity, there came another rise in immigration, which in 1905 passed the million level for the first time in the history of the country. The increase continued and in 1907 the unprecedented number of 1,250,000 immigrants arrived. The panic in that year temporarily brought a decline in immigration. For many months after the industrial depression came, there were many more immigrants who left the country than who entered it.

The immigration figures again increased, and again exceeded a million annually in 1910, 1913, and 1914. The outbreak of the war in Europe brought down the annual number of immigrants to about one-third of a million. The entry of the United States into the

World War still further reduced immigration — to almost 100,000, or about the figures for 1842. Since the World War ended, immigration has been increasing, despite hindrances such as restrictive immigration laws, economic unrest, the suppression of radical reform movements, the high cost of living, and the difficulties in securing transportation accommodations from Europe. On the other hand, large numbers of aliens in the United States have been returning to Europe.

The Japanese immigration began about 1890 and assumed noticeable proportions by 1900. In recent years the annual immigration of Japanese has exceeded 10,000. However, several thousand Japanese return to Japan each year. The Japanese locate chiefly in California.

The Mexicans began to migrate to the United States about 1890. El Paso and Los Angeles are their leading centers. They have come as a result of the labor needs in the Southwestern States.

A study of the immigration statistics for a year that is typical of the immigration movement when it was large, such as the year 1914, shows noteworthy facts. In this connection it should be mentioned that the immigration figures apply to the fiscal year ending June 30 and not to the calendar year. In 1914, over 250,000 immigrants came from each of three countries, namely, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. The other European countries offered no close competition; the next in numerical order were England, Greece, and Germany — each sending about the same number, 35,000. From the standpoint of races, as distinguished

from the countries from which the immigrants come, the Italians ranked first, 296,000; the Hebrews, second, 138,000; the Poles, third, 122,000; the Germans, fourth, 79,000; the English, fifth, 51,000.

The intended future residence by states of the aliens who were admitted in 1914 shows that over 600,000 immigrants went to three states—New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. In other words, the gigantic current of immigration poured into the already overcrowded centers of population, and congregated in racial colonies, apart from the best elements of American life. The statistics relative to the places of intended future residence of the immigrants speak forcibly of the need of distributive measures. In 1914 alone, over 344,000 aliens came to New York, chiefly New York City.

In this same year, the aliens who were admitted were divided between the two sexes in the proportion of about two to one in favor of the males — nearly 800,000 being males. The influx of this over-proportion of males, year after year, has in the last century amounted to many millions and has had serious social results.

In regard to ages, it may be noted that nearly 1,000,000 aliens of the total 1,218,000 who came in 1914 were between the ages of fourteen and forty-four. Other things being equal, it has been a great asset to the country that a high percentage of immigrants has belonged to the productive years of life.

In a normal year more alien immigrants have been admitted to the United States than have been admitted in that year to all other countries of the world com-

bined. During the years which immediately preceded the outbreak of the World War, it appears that more persons migrated from the United States for the purpose of residing in other countries than migrated from any other nation, not excepting Italy, Austria-Hungary, or Russia. For several years the annual number of emigrants from the United States exceeded 300,000. The aliens who leave the country to reside permanently elsewhere, usually in the countries from which they originally came, have belonged chiefly to the Italian, Greek, Polish, Magyar, Russian and Jugo-Slav races. The North European races and the Hebrews rank lowest in the emigration movement.

The extensive emigration from the United States shows that our country has been failing to win the loyalty of large numbers of immigrants. They have come to make money, and in making money they have learned to scorn us. The emigration figures when subtracted from the immigration figures, often leave the latter very small. For example, in 1919, the total immigration amounted to 237,000, but there was also a total emigration of 216,000, or a net gain in population from the aliens of only about 21,000. For months at a time, the emigrants sometimes exceed the immigrants in number, and the population of the country would suffer a noticeable decrease, if it were not for the birth-rate.

The time has already arrived when the best conditions in many European countries, for example, in England, or even in Czechoslovakia, are much superior to the worst conditions in the over-crowded quarters of our largest cities, where many immigrants congre-

gate when they come to the United States. Consequently, the inducements to immigrate are decreasing. When the economic conditions in the old and the new countries of the world become somewhat similar, migration, as a world phenomenon will become largely historical.

Under present conditions we can admit safely only a few hundred thousand immigrants a year. Several years ago the United States reached the point where all aliens who desired to come, could not be freely admitted. We are unable to continue as an asylum for the oppressed of other races and nations. Our own free land is exhausted, our industrial opportunities do not ward off serious unemployment situations. The needy and poor are being recruited in increasing numbers from our native-born population — as a result of our own economic and social maladjustments.

It is our plain duty and opportunity to build up our economic and social order on scientific and sociological principles. We can also make Americanism in daily life so attractive that practically every immigrant will Americanize himself. When our socio-economic processes operate soundly, and when a sane Americanization procedure reaches throughout the nation, we shall be able again to invite immigration.

PROBLEMS

1. Why did not the first discoverers of America develop a high type of civilization?
2. Why did not the second discoverers of America make permanent settlements?
3. Were there any special reasons why the third discoverers of America were Italians and Spaniards?
4. What were the leading races in order of importance whose representatives immigrated in Colonial days?
5. What was Franklin's attitude toward immigration?
6. Why did the United States first undertake to count the number of immigrant arrivals?
7. When did immigration figures for the first time reach 100,000? 500,000? 1,000,000?
8. How has the center of emigration in Europe migrated in the last century?
9. Why have Canadians migrated to the United States?
10. Why has inter-migration between Canada and the United States decreased?
11. What races have migrated to the United States in the largest numbers?
12. What race of Southern and Eastern Europe has sent the most desirable type of immigrant?
13. Has the United States a scientific justification for excluding immigrants on the basis of race or nationality?
14. Explain: "The story of the United States is the story of the foreigners."

Chapter VII

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN

The next logical step is to analyze the traits of the various races in the United States which today are making or destroying American ideals. There are two main groups, the native-born and the foreign-born. The native-born, who will be considered first, will be presented under four headings in as many chapters; the average American, the Indian, the Negro, and the mountaineer.

The term, average American, is here used to include the native-born Americans, excepting the Indians, Negroes, and mountaineers. It also refers to the rank and file, to the mass, to the common variety of natives, more than to the criminal classes or to the pre-eminently social classes. It refers to those whose sentiments and beliefs constitute in a large way the public opinion which prevails at any given time.

Average Americans are persons of whom it might be said that Americanization does not apply. At first thought it would seem that average Americans are already Americanized, and that Americanization should start from them, not with them. But are all Americans satisfactorily Americanized? And must not they set the correct examples of Americanism if the immigrants are to become good Americans?

It must never be forgotten that Americanization is a process, in part, of adopting American ideals, and

that all native-born, as well as foreign-born, must experience this process. Many average Americans have not reached a very high point on the scale of Americanism, while some immigrants have reached a higher point than have average Americans.

Americans vary widely in type — as much as aliens. They vary from the highly loyal, public-minded, socialized persons to the mean wretch who preys upon his kind and society, or to the gilded "gentleman" who moves in the best circles, but is in fact a moral reprobate, or a profiteer. Moreover, every American is moving either upward or downward, as judged by his daily acts, in his loyalty to American principles. Many persons are improving the qualities of our national life; others are degrading our precious standards. All Americans can be better Americans.

The ideals of the average American have already been presented in four chapters of this book. These ideals should be kept in mind as the sunshine in the picture which this chapter discloses. In order truly to describe the average American, his ideal side must be supplemented by some of his unpleasant traits. Further, it is these unfortunate traits which affect powerfully the immigrant in the process of becoming American.

If the Indians are to become enthusiastic in their loyalty to the United States, they must not be allowed to suffer from economic exploitation, or from short-sighted Americanism; they must get their conceptions of American standards from large-hearted, broad-minded American leaders. If American Negroes who composed about one-tenth of our armies in the World

War and who today represent approximately ten per cent of our total population, are to become effective links in our national chain, they must not get their Americanism through lynch procedure and race prejudice, but from Americans who thoroughly understand the problems of race assimilation. If the mountaineers are to emerge from their eighteenth century life into twentieth century Americanism, the invitation must not be given tardily in the wake of the blunt, crushing penetrations of commercialism, but through the sympathetic and painstaking efforts of public educators.

If the European alien within our gates is to contribute his life and ideals to Americanism, he must be protected from unscrupulous bosses, agents, padrones, soap-box orators, and be given at the workbench, in the street car, and everywhere a daily interpretation of an Americanism ringing with the principles of liberty, union, democracy, and brotherhood. If the Asiatic immigrant is to be inducted into the body politic, the leaders in charge must not be narrow-minded American patrioteers, but large-gauge, world-visioned American patriots. Nothing on the part of Americans except a consistent, daily attitude begotten of love will so effect the un-American native or alien that he will naturally and willingly give up his former life, break home ties if necessary, and assume the responsibilities of whole-hearted citizenship in our democracy. .

There are several types of practices of average Americans which are out of harmony with the American ideals that were presented in Chapters Two to Five inclusive. The average American in addition to

declaring the ideals of liberty, co-operation, democracy, and brotherhood, must bring his attitudes toward several un-American tendencies into line with his ideals. Americanization, then, for average Americans requires, among other things, that average Americans improve the quality of their actions in at least the following ten particulars:

1. Many Americans take a snobbish attitude toward or look down upon foreigners. We do not realize that these same foreigners see our faults and look down upon us because of certain of our ways. This point is especially true of those immigrants who come from civilizations and cultures which are five, ten, twenty, or thirty centuries old. The situation is partially explained by the statement that the average American thinks of the immigrants in terms of a laborer and the immigrant thinks of the American in terms of a boss.

The truth of the matter is that the immigrant possesses ideals which the American does not suspect, and the American has ideals and qualities of which the immigrant does not learn. President Wilson struck the needed key-note when he said: "No amount of dwelling upon the idea of liberty and of justice will accomplish the object we have in view, unless we ourselves illustrate the idea of justice and of liberty."

In our daily activities, are we doing democracy? Are we setting democratic examples for the immigrants to follow? It was the opinion of James Russell Lowell several decades ago that few people take the trouble to find out the real nature of democracy. And many loyal Americans recently have thought it apropos to

reverse the dictum about democracy and declare that democracy must be made safe for the world. It must also be made safe for the immigrants who come to our country.

Many Americans have questioned the merits of democracy in time of national emergency such as war, and point to the inefficiency and wastefulness which was manifest in the United States during the World War. All such doubters need to remember that the war between the United States and Germany was one between an imperfect democracy and a perfected autocracy. Germany had been building up an autocratic system for decades, while the United States had only begun to analyze her national aims and to work them out purposely along democratic lines. The doubters need to consider that inefficiency in government in the United States is not due to weaknesses in the ideal of democracy but to our selfish attempts in practicing democracy. The need for natives to treat immigrants democratically is a serious phase of the larger problem of how to do democracy in all our daily relationships.

An illustration of the way in which Americans misunderstand immigrants, and hence are led to treat them autocratically, is found in the experiences of a certain California mining company. The manager noticed a restlessness among the 5000 South Austrian employees. He did not know that the men were Croatians, and he could not discover any real cause for the increasing restlessness. He thought that the I. W. W. had been at work among the men and so he sent word to the United States marshal in the district to be ready on call.

The California State Commission of Immigration and Housing heard of the disturbance, and wired, asking that the manager delay action. The Commission sent an interpreter, who asked that he might live among the men and find out the deep-seated causes of the excitement. The company's representative objected on the ground that the life of the interpreter would be endangered. The interpreter persisted, and secured a bunk in the lodging house. At the end of the second day he reported to the company that the serious disturbance was the result of a feverish debate, in which the whole camp was involved, as to where the capitol for the new republic of Jugo-Slavia should be located! The management said: "What we needed was not the United States marshal to keep order, but an interpreter to help us understand the men."

2. The exploitation of the weak by the strong is an unpleasant and widespread phase of American life. Its elimination must be provided for in a complete Americanization effort. Political power, monetary power, social power are used as means of taking advantage of the unsuspecting and innocent.

Attorney George L. Bell, speaking from his experiences as a member of the staff of the California State Commission of Immigration and Housing, describes a colonization scheme which was carried out in the Sacramento Valley, and which illustrated the practice of exploitation. The sales agents of the colonization company made special efforts to induce immigrants to purchase land in lots of twenty to thirty acres. The value of the land was represented in advertisements and by oral statements in the most glow-

ing terms. Exaggeration and misrepresentation were common. As a result, "150 families, mostly immigrants, were induced to pay from $100 to $150 an acre for this land. Three years of fruitless labor went by, life-savings were lost, and worst of all, confidence in America was shattered."

Upon investigation it was found that the land was honey-combed with hardpan. The soil experts of the University of California found that, at the most, the land was worth only from $15 to $20 an acre, and that no family could make a living on twenty or thirty acre lots.

This case is only one of about 500 land fraud cases which have been handled by the California State Commission in a few years. "It shows," states Attorney Bell, "that we exploit immigrants even in their attempt to get back to the land — the place where many wise students of the problem say that the immigrants must go, before our immigrant problem is solved."

3. The materialism of many Americans is a grievous disappointment to immigrants. This tendency of materialism has become focused in money-making until we have achieved the name of being a nation of money-makers, and of having established a form of a bureaucracy, namely, a dollarocracy.

It is true that the immigrant has come with the idea of improving his economic condition. But he did not expect to put money-making above all other phases of life. He did not expect to be lost in an industrial maelstrom.

4. The immigrant cannot, as a rule, understand our lack of courtesy. His first disappointments in this

connection occur at the immigrant stations. If large numbers of immigrants must be examined in a short period of time, the individual immigrant is jostled and shoved along. He is unexpectedly seized by the eyebrows, in order to be examined for trachoma. He is yelled at in a way which bewilders and dumbfounds him.

The immigrant is chagrined by American thoughtlessness. Everybody seems to be going about his own business to be sure, but very few seem to be really interested in an ordinary, strange individual, least of all in giving sympathetic aid to a foreigner.

The average American seems to lack an appreciation of the finer things of life. He seems to care little for the esthetic. He prefers jazz to grand opera. The immigrant, bringing a love of the fine arts which is a heritage of the ages, cannot understand our disregard of the beautiful.

5. In the normal times of peace, Americans have become notorious for taking little interest in their government and in public welfare, sometimes through sectionalism, and sometimes through thoughtlessness and unconscious selfishness. As a result of this condition, unworthy politicians have prospered and true statesmen have been persistently maligned and caricatured. President Roosevelt once said that the chief evil in this country is the lack of a sufficiently general appreciation of the responsibility of citizenship. Consequently, a whole brood of evils has hatched. As enumerated by President Roosevelt these are: (1) unfair business methods, (2) the misused power of capital, (3) the unjustified activities of labor, (4) pork-

barrel legislation, and (5) graft among powerful politicians.

Even in times of war, as well as of peace, the lack of interest in public welfare is conspicuous. When the United States was engaged in the World War, there were undoubtedly many native Americans who thought of the war, not as an opportunity to serve the country or the cause of democracy, but as an occasion for making large sums of money. In defiance of genuine patriotism, profiteering spread its ugly tentacles and labor strikes were boldly advocated.

Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch of Greenwich House, New York City, has illustrated provincialism by citing the case of a New Englander who is first a New Englander and only very secondarily a citizen of the United States. Mrs. Simkhovitch believes that the colonial hyphenated American has perhaps as little understanding of Americanism as has a member of any foreign-born hyphenated group. In her work for many years on the East Side of New York City, she has come to believe, also, that the average immigrant becomes a more ardent patriot, even under adverse conditions, than some plain Americans of colonial stock.

Americanization implies a development of steadfast interest on the part of the American in his government, his political representatives, and democracy. It means that public office and suffrage must be given an air of dignity in the eyes of both the native-born and the foreign-born. The average voter frequently neglects to vote, or in order to get him to vote it is necessary to send an automobile for him. He rarely keeps his legislative representatives informed as to his beliefs on

important issues, unless he is the votary of a special interest. In this case he may importune too much, urging the support of given measures which may be directly opposed to public welfare.

We are prone to heap abuse upon public officials — even chief executives — especially if they belong to a political party different from our own. Extreme partisanship undermines Americanism. Some newspaper cartoons of our officials crush out respect for the incumbents, for the offices, and even for the government itself in the eyes of both citizens and aliens.

6. Americanization of average Americans includes a program for more unification than we now have in matters of race, ideals, standards of democracy. We do not yet have an American race; we are still racially heterogeneous, speaking many languages and harboring a large variety of racial customs. Race prejudice still operates fiercely.

In our thinking on national and world issues we are distressingly diversified. The long, cold winters of North Dakota produce different attitudes from those which are stimulated in the humid regions of South Carolina. Vast accumulations of private wealth, strengthened by an inheritance system, are responsible for a gulf between the capitalistic and laboring classes so wide that when either speaks the other is likely to misunderstand. Americanization is a process of building up a common basis of understanding for conservatives and liberals, and for the orthodox and heterodox in all phases of American life.

7. Extravagance has almost become an American trait. We are notorious for our lack of conservation

of national resources. The reckless cutting down of the best timber in magnificent forests and the wholesale burning of natural gas in order to appropriate the underlying oils have been stopped to a large degree, but the stunting of adolescents in industry, a needless waste of adult life in hazardous occupations, a gigantic expenditure of money and energy for fashion luxuries are widely evident.

In 1913, for example, we spent more money for sodas and ice cream than in support of the church; twice as much money for tobacco, and five times as much for liquor as for the church. In 1917, we were manufacturing as many as 850 styles of shoes. Note the following headlines from newspapers as illustrations of anti-social extravagance in a world where children are starving.

(1) Mrs. H— wears $35,000 coat.
(2) Banquet given in honor of monkey.
(3) Half million dollars in jewels on Mrs. A—at ball.
(4) Bequeaths valuable property to pet bulldog.

The immigrant is astounded at the reckless expenditures of Americans. Paralyzed, he beholds an American youth nonchalantly pull a ten dollar bill from his vest pocket and toss it on the counter in paying for a five cent package of chewing gum. The immigrant is more thrifty than the native-born. In the years preceding the World War, the immigrant was saving and sending to Europe hundreds of millions of dollars annually — savings from meager wages. Americanization includes a return to the principles of thrift that

were taught by Franklin and practiced by our parents and the immigrants.

8. Dispatch and bigness and noise were not always American traits. Sometimes they have been justified, as in the following illustration. During the visit of the writer to the automobile section at the San Francisco Exposition, the salesmen of almost all the high-priced automobiles were only moderately busy or else were lounging about. At one side of the large building, however, there was considerable commotion and a large crowd of interested people. There was a slowly moving long platform upon one end of which automobile parts were being thrown, and at the other end of which every eight minutes a chauffeur jumped into a fully assembled automobile, gave a honk, honk, and amid the plaudits of the spectators, drove merrily out of the building, and disappeared from view. Unfortunately, however, not all speed in the United States has in it the qualitative advantages for the common people that is represented in the rapid-fire manufacture of Ford motor cars.

Unworthy forms of speed are illustrated by the get-rich-quick schemes of the hour, by the neurasthenic chase after new fashions, by curricula for giving students superficial knowledge in several fields simultaneously, by the kaleidoscopic dash by automobile to snatch a few hours of nerve-wrecking amusement at a pleasure resort.

In play as well as in work American speed is common. Some Americans have developed in recent years the unfortunate habit of rushing at thirty miles an hour to places of amusement and recreation, trying

one artificial and excitement-dealing device after another in rapid succession, and then dashing for home at forty miles an hour, arriving there more tired than when they started. Such habits preclude the possibilities of securing natural and needed relaxation and recreation from leisure hours.

The deification of bigness in American business life is presented by Booth Tarkington in *The Turmoil*. Herein is depicted a character to whom bigness alone is the source of happiness. Bigness, however, is often developed at the expense of human welfare — this is the indirect theme of the story. Many Americans are prone to worship the tallest skyscrapers, the largest bank accounts, the fastest base-runners.

With this speed and bigness, there is frequently the strident accompaniment of noise. Fortunately, however, we have reacted against mere noise as a means of celebrating the Fourth of July. Nevertheless, temporary recidivism expressed itself on November 11th, 1918, the day of the signing of the armistice. The people did not have the advantage which comes from organization; they acted spontaneously. Spontaneity, however, is supposed to reveal true attitudes. At any rate, the most striking phase of the celebration was the noise, the tin-can noise, the raucous noise of discordant, competitive voices. A weakness for speed, size, and noise partially offsets our high appraisal of virile morality and courageous patriotism. Mere rapidity, bigness, and loudness in themselves lead to degeneration. If the United States is to progress and to set favorable examples for her immigrant population,

she must return to her pristine emphasis upon quality and quietness.

If the United States is to make a strong appeal to the immigrant, thoroughness and quality must be continuously enthroned. The incoming immigrant cannot understand the rapid, discordant pace in our country. He fails to grasp the tenor of the statement: "Time is money." In his previous habitat, time had not been commercialized. Upon arrival in this country he moves leisurely; his mind likewise jogs along. Then he becomes inoculated with the germ of American speed, and enters upon the asthenic pace.

On arrival, the newcomer to our land is dazzled by the splendor of the United States. But as he proceeds in a jangling street car through narrow streets and past dingy buildings to the East Side of New York City, and takes up his abode in a six-story dumb-bell type of tenement, and begins to sell cabbages from a push cart, he awakens from his bewilderment and asks the meaning of it all. He is at a loss to explain the juxtoposition of illimitable wealth and grievous misfortune. He cannot adjust his mind to the co-existence of elegant mansions and the dark caves, without sunshine, which are called tenements.[1] He wants to know if there is not a worm at the heart of it all. He is amazed that generous America is so callous in the presence of so much revolting misery. To him, it seems as if speed, bigness, and noise had supplanted fundamental human virtues.

[1]The reader will find in *An American in the Making* by M. E. Ravage, a refreshing and good-natured presentation of the reactions of the immigrant to various American methods, and of the obstacles in the way of his Americanization.

9. Another native tendency which Americanization must counteract is the decreasing influence of the home. America developed and grew apace out of a sound and not infrequently austere home life. The child felt the disciplining hand of parent and acquired a respect for substantial virtues. Today, persuasion has been substituted for compulsion, but the persuading often degenerates into supplicating and importuning. As a result, parental discipline is breaking and consideration of the wishes of elders is being ignored. Immigrant parents experience unspeakable chagrin because of the disrespectful attitude of their children who are learning their first lessons in American ill manners. In our large cities a generation is rising without proper ballast.

A decreasing respect for the sanctities of marriage and an increasing divorce rate are deleterious tendencies. The double standard of morals and the social evil are likewise destructive. They vitiate the physical and moral energy of natives and immigrants alike, and together conspire to plunge our nation on the rocks. When marriage is considered merely as a civil contract to be made or broken at will, a nation is in greater peril than if an armed force were at its gates.

The increasing homelessness of Americans is startling in the extreme. In the large cities in the United States an average family cannot afford a home. The larger the city the less feasible is home ownership. We are already upon times in the United States when the majority of our urban residents are homeless — in the sense of being unable to live in homes which they own or for which they are paying. The situation is

pathetic in regard to immigrants who look toward the United States for homes.

According to the reports of the Immigration Commission which was appointed by Roosevelt, the percentage of foreign-born wage earners in the industrial cities who are home-owners, is twice as great as the percentage of the native-born in this class. It is a sad fact that the native-born wage earners have given up the hope, while the foreign-born are still trying against almost insuperable odds to acquire a home. Do we want to make of the United States a nation of lordly palaces with servant races begging for floor space on which "to pitch their gypsy tents"?

For the well-to-do Americans, apartment house life with a minimum of home life and a maximum of indulgent pleasures is becoming a widespread movement. Children mingle in stairways and alleys, or walk or run the streets, without adequate supervision. Idle, unsupervised hours lead to indifference, delinquency, recklessness. These proclivities are undermining the home as an American institution. Americanization is a process of providing a new emphasis upon sound family life.

10. In the United States the twentieth century has seen not only a sloughing off of outworn religious forms, but an open disregard for the church and the sanctities of religion. Fundamental American ideals, however, have always included the religious element. It was the Pilgrim Fathers who undertook the dangerous voyage to America "for ye glory of God and advancement of ye Christian faith." It was from the Old Testament that the inscription was taken for the

Liberty Bell. It was Washington who officially declared that religion is an indispensable support to political prosperity, and that patriotism is in vain if it subvert this great pillar of human happiness. Washington, speaking as President, held that the security for life, reputation, and property is nowhere to be found if the sense of religious obligation be cut off: and that it is doubtful if even morality can be maintained without religion. It was Lincoln who declared that "this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." It was Wilson who in setting the nation at war against autocracy and for democracy asserted: "God helping her, she can do no other."

Colossal efforts are being put forth by the various religious bodies. The Protestants are awake and active, but have not yet succeeded in working out a religious program that wins in large numbers the immigrants of the last few decades. The Roman Catholics have found the nature of their organization changing and being weakened in unanticipated directions. Many of their numbers, such as the Czechoslovaks, have been breaking away and forming free-thinking societies. The effect of the American environment upon the religious attitude of the child of the orthodox Jew is well-known. America frequently de-Judaizes the Jew without Christianizing him. The appeal of socialism to him is oftentimes greater than that of Christianity.

Despite surface drifts, however, the American is fundamentally religious at heart. The materialism which results from money-making has not destroyed the roots of religion. Even beneath the crude exterior of the illiterate immigrant there are religious impulses.

Americanization means a purifying and socializing of the religious beliefs of Americans. It also connotes a wholesome, constructive, and broad-minded appeal to the religious needs of the immigrant, who will respond and contribute mightily to the spiritual rebirth of the United States.

The ideals and the practices of average Americans have been presented in this chapter and the earlier chapters of this treatise. It has been seen that we possess contradictory traits. There is often a wide distance between our splendid ideals and many of our daily practices. Americanization is a process of shortening this distance between ideals and practices, or of harmonizing practices with ideals.

Americanization involves the rebirth of all our fundamental virtues, namely, liberty and initiative, union and co-operation, democracy and justice, internationalism and brotherhood. Average Americans are pacesetters for immigrants. Whether the immigrants become social or anti-social Americans depends upon the examples which are set by average Americans. The latter are called to express in action all that is good and true and that is civically and socially dynamic in America's vision. The immigrant will then contribute his share, and more, to the process.

PROBLEMS

1. Why do native-born persons need to be Americanized?
2. What is the average American's conception of Americanism?

3. Why is the average American so much in need of Americanization even after he has gone through the public schools?
4. Is it true that the average American "adores the flag but suspects the state"?
5. What do you understand by the slogan, "America for Americans"?
6. Explain: "Americans are more hospitable on Sundays than on week days."
7. Give an original illustration of an un-American act of an American.
8. Why has speed become a phase of Americanism?
9. Why do so many Americans neglect to vote?
10. Why do so many Americans who are well fitted for public positions refuse to become candidates for public office?
11. Is the eagle a correct American symbol?
12. Evaluate the Americanism in the statement: My country, right or wrong.
13. Distinguish between Americanism and nativism.
14. Is it a high type of Americanism to wear a $35,000 coat?
15. How may we account for the fact that some foreign-born persons have reached a higher American standard than many native-born persons?
16. What are the main faults that the average foreigner sees in the average American?
17. What types of Americans are doing the most to degrade the quality of our Americanism?
18. How can average Americans help in the process of Americanization without going into specific Americanization work?

Chapter VIII

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

In the United States there are approximately 300,000 Indians, representing a race once in possession of America. They are more nearly Simon-pure Americans than we. But what has been the history of their contact with our Americanism?

The English colonists, according to the historian, Albert Bushnell Hart, sought to make slaves of the Indians.[1] But the red man could not understand slavery — his pride forbade. Conquest, extermination, and racial death became his fate. He lived in the nobility of his traditions; he loved his out-of-door hunting life which is a distinguishing trait of his race. He had no desire to give up his culture for what he considered the artificial status of civilization. He despised the "paleface," not only because of his bleached out countenance, but because the white man, in his judgment, had succumbed to the tedious and monotonous discipline of labor.[2] He felt "an unsurmountable disgust for the methods the Europeans used for attaining their superiority."

But the colonists, as a rule, did not give consideration to life from the red man's standpoint. They saw him at his worst — as "a scalp-dancing, war-whooping savage." Although the Pilgrims who arrived in the

[1] *National Ideals Historically Traced,* p. 48.

[2] de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* I:340ff., 349.

early winter of 1620 were able to survive by virtue of the stores of Indian corn which they utilized; although the colonists were taught hunting and trapping, the raising of corn, the making of moccasins and canoes by the Indians; and although the land on which the colonists settled was the property of the Indians,—nevertheless, the colonists did not appreciate their obligations.

The psychical and social differences between the red and the white man were so great that mutual misunderstandings continually arose. The Indian disdained to make the gigantic leap from Indianism to Europeanism. He honestly doubted its worthwhileness. The Europeans, on the other hand, failing to appreciate the problems of raising a people of hunting nature to the markedly different plane of civilization, alienated the good will of the Indian. In its turn, the Indian's barbaric method of warfare aroused the hatred of the Europeans. The Indians lost.

The Indians were forced to withdraw, following the trails of the wild animals which had made the chase an Indian institution. Exhausted by famine, struggling to keep up a desultory warfare, the Indian retreated over the hills and across the plains.[3] By 1818, "the currents of civilization had flowed around the Indian tribes, leaving them on detached reservations."

The Indians were nomadic, without a knowledge of agriculture. When they attempted to imitate the immigrants from Europe in tilling the soil, they were unable to succeed in the unequal contest with their trained

[3]Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

competitors.[4] Unskilled in agriculture, and lacking the encouragement of sympathetic instructors in the fields, they met defeat in their chief attempt to adopt the ways of civilized man.

Until recent decades, the attitude of our government toward the Indian failed to measure up to the standard set by Washington, who said: "We are more enlightened and more powerful than the Indian nations, we are therefore bound in honor to treat them with generosity." Washington's concern that justice be done the Indian may be noted in each of his annual messages to Congress. In commenting in 1842 upon Washington's plea, our French visitor, Alexis de Tocqueville, pointed out that this virtuous and high-minded policy had not been followed, and declared that "the rapacity of the settlers is usually backed by the rapacity of the government." While he charged the Federal Government with treating the Indians with less cupidity and rigor than did the individual settler, yet he held that the policies of both the Federal and State Governments were alike destitute of good faith. The states obliged the Indians to retreat, and the Federal Government, through its promises and resources, facilitated that retirement. For decades the effects of European civilization and the methods of the newcomers, instead of gently raising the Indians to a civilized level, made them more disorderly and less civilized than they were before.[5] The increasing friction between the races reached its height in the nineteenth century and involved enormous losses in men and money. By the year

[4]de Tocqueville, *op. cit.*, I:352.
[5]*Op. cit.*, I:340.

1866, our government had spent more than $500,000,000 in fighting the Indians.

In President Grant's administration the military methods of dealing with the Indian were supplanted by an assimilative program. The peace policy was inaugurated. The effective introduction of the new and constructive program was due to the good judgment and foresight of the first Board of Indian Commissioners. They believed that through friendly contacts, the red and white races would live togther peaceably and would even assimilate. The Indian wars ended. Indian education began.

The intention of the Federal Government to act fairly toward the Indian has assumed tangible forms. Large sums of money — several millions of dollars annually — have been appropriated and used for the education and development of the Indians. Individual holdings of land have been granted, with citizenship an accompaniment of such holdings. The churches and other privately organized associations have become increasingly active in behalf of the Indians.

On April 17, 1917, the Commission of Indian Affairs announced a policy which contemplated the release from government supervision of nearly every Indian, with his property, who has one-half or more white blood. The new policy provided also for the similar release of Indians with more than one-half Indian blood who show themselves as capable of transacting their own affairs as the average white man. The students over twenty-one years of age who complete the full course of instruction in government schools, who receive diplomas, and who also demonstrate competency will be released.

Despite changed policies, the Indians are being Americanized very slowly. To a large extent they are settled on poor farm lands in the arid regions. They have frequently adopted the vices of the white man and become notorious for their shiftlessness. They still live under the fear that the reservation rights will be taken away and the reservations, as soon as they become valuable, thrown open to the whites. When they hear the words,

> My country 'tis of thee,
> Sweet land of liberty,
> Of thee I sing:
> I love thy rocks and rills,
> Thy woods and templed hills,

they grow sad. These lines suggest the songs of their own free days.[6] They too love life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The citizenship status of the Indian is uncertain, for he has been granted citizenship rights in one state and denied them in another, even though he has possessed the same capabilities and degree of development in both states.[7] His property rights are still unsatisfactorily defined, although a great improvement in this regard has occurred since Helen Hunt Jackson wrote "The Indian is the only human being within our territory who has no individual rights in the soil." George Wharton James, who is authority for the statements that the treaties of California with the Indians euchred

[6]S. K. Humphrey, *The Indian Dispossessed*, p. 8.

[7]F. A. McKenzie, "The Assimilation of the American Indian," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XIX:766.

them out of their lands, and that the evictions of the Indians were far worse than the evictions of the Irish in Ireland, also states that no native Indian has been permitted to file upon any public land in California, while foreigners may do so after taking out first papers, and that there are several thousand homeless Indians in California who need small homesteads and cabins from which they cannot be evicted.

By virtue of having been moved from one reservation to another and of his indefinite status in regard to property and other rights, the Indian has not learned to have confidence in the white man. Without this confidence, the Indian cannot be assimilated to any degree. The Indian's estimate of his conqueror is summed up in these words: "White man, he uncertain."

Our education of the Indian has not met his needs. His children who have gone or been sent away to be educated find that they cannot return and make use at home of their knowledge of highly civilized methods. The new ways are too strange and foreign. The youth have been educated away from their parents. If they return home, they must fall back into the old ways. Education must be carried on in the Indian communities themselves, and whole families gradually and patiently instructed in rising from a hunting stage to an agricultural level of civilization. Indian leaders for the Indians are needed. The Indian communities must be taught by Indian leaders who understand the benefits and ways of our civilization, and yet thoroughly understand the Indian's mind and culture.

Little attempt has been made to give the Indian an

opportunity to contribute his best qualities to present-day Americanism. In fact, our attention has been centered so much upon his worst traits of savagery and shiftlessness that we are hardly able to state his best qualities.

In using Indian names, we have almost forgotten our indebtedness to the Indian. The Indian has given us the names of four of the five Great Lakes, of one-half of our states, and of countless townships, counties, and rivers. How many persons recall that Massachusetts is the Indian name for Blue Hills; Connecticut, for Long River; Dakota, for Allied People; Utah, for Mountain Home; and Wyoming, for Great Plains? These facts have slipped almost entirely from our consciousness. Some Americans have quite forgotten the Indian's connection with America — a point which is illustrated by the following incident that is vouchsafed for by E. A. Steiner. An Eastern woman, after spending the winter in Arizona, said that the climate was splendid but that she did not like the people — there were too many foreigners. Upon being asked what foreigners she found so numerous in Arizona, she replied: "Oh, the Indians."

The Indian has the highest type of physical courage, inherited physique, and endurance to contribute to our current American life. He has been trained through the centuries to endure.

The Indian is a nature lover. He is a product of the out-of-doors. He represents a style of simple living to which modern Americans are trying to return in their emphasis upon living and sleeping in the open. The Indian possesses an unassailable sense of personal

liberty and love of justice. He has a bold and aspiring spirit, like that of his emblem, the American eagle, which we have borrowed.[8] According to Bishop H. B. Whipple, who lived and worked with the Indians for years, the Indian is brave, fearless, and true to his plighted faith. He furnished 10,000 soldiers, mostly as volunteers, in the World War for democracy.

The Indian possesses the gift of silence. To him, silence is the sign of a perfect equilibrium.[9] It indicates absolute poise of body, mind, and spirit. The Indian faces great dangers with the calm of a Stoic.

The Indian is noted for his generosity. He sets no price upon his property or labor, according to Charles A. Eastman, and his generosity is only limited by his strength and ability. In every public ceremony, public giving is a part. The religion of the Indian forbids the enjoyment of luxury. "Let neither cold, hunger, nor pain, nor the fear of them; neither the bristling teeth of danger, nor the very jaws of death itself, prevent you from doing a good deed," said an old chief to a scout who was seeking game to relieve a starving people.

To the Indian, he is wealthiest who gives most. With us, he is wealthiest who keeps most. To the Indian, "land is as free as the water he drinks; proprietorship continues so long as the land is tilled or otherwise in use."

As soon as the American people really understand the Indian problem, they will insist upon justice to the Indian as a basis for an Americanization program. We

[8]C. A. Eastman, *The Indian Today*, p. 168.

[9]Eastman, *The Soul of the Indian*, p. 89.

shall not fail to provide generously out of our abundance for these original possessors of our land. We shall work out educational methods that will slowly transform Indian communities from the hunting to the agricultural stage of civilization, utilizing chiefly Indian leaders. We shall yet utilize the valuable and needed gifts which the American Indian can add to current Americanism. The evidences of a genuine Americanization procedure are seen in the new policy that was announced by the Federal Government on April 17, 1917; in the recognition of American Indian Day, such as the setting aside of the fourth Friday in September by the state of Illinois for that purpose; and in the democratic activities of many missionary and semi-missionary societies which are working for a better understanding between Indians and Americans.

Lydia Huntley Sigourney has described the Indian's welcome to the Pilgrim Fathers in the following lines:

When sudden from the forest wide
A red-browed chieftain came,
With towering form, and haughty stride,
And eye like kindling flame;
No wrath he breathed, no conflict sought,
To no dark ambush drew,
But simply to the Old World brought
The welcome of the new.

Then, by way of contrast, the poet has depicted the Indian's present low estate and how he is without a welcome in the mansions that have been builded on land that he once owned:

Thou gav'st the riches of thy streams,
The lordship o'er thy waves,
The region of thine infant dreams,
And of thy father's graves,—
But who to yon proud mansions,
Piled with wealth of earth and sea,
Poor outcast from thy forest wild,
Say, who shall welcome thee?

PROBLEMS

1. What is the fundamental reason why the Indians and Americans have misunderstood one another so persistently?
2. Why did we have so many wars with the Indians?
3. What has been the main weakness of our educational program for the Indians?
4. Why have the Indians been supplanted by the Caucasians?
5. Has the Indian been as consistent in living up to his ideals as we have been consistent in living up to American ideals?
6. Why are the Indians dying out, while the Negroes are increasing?
7. What does the average Indian understand by Americanism?
8. What are the advantages and the disadvantages of the land reservation for the Indians?

9. If the Indian had been given a complete square deal throughout our relations with him (after the fashion of William Penn), would a distinct Indian civilization have arisen or would assimilation have occurred?
10. What characteristics do Indians possess which would strengthen our Americanism?

Chapter IX

THE NEGRO

The American Negro is of composite racial origin. His earliest immigrant ancestors came from the African coast regions east of the mouth of the Niger River. He represents the black Guinea Negroes of the West Coast, the Sudanese, and captives from interior tribes. He came chiefly from equatorial Africa where great heat and humidity prevail and where nature is profligate in coarse foodstuffs. The climate favors indolence, and suppresses ambition and initiative. The over-energetic individuals are cut off; the indolent survive and become the parents of the successive generations.

Further, the abundance of raw foods makes exertion unnecessary in order to secure a living. Natural factors combine to discourage ambition, intellectual effort, and to foster lethargy and mental retrogression. Moreover, the equatorial regions are noted for the prevalence of diseases and an excessively high infant and general mortality rate. Those tribes with a normal birth-rate — in an American sense — soon die out. Only those groups survive in whose members the sex instinct assumes a greatly exaggerated expression.

Additional light is cast upon the Negro's problems in the United States by considering the Negro's environmental situation under American slavery. The results of the slave system parallel the effects of equa-

torial influences. Under that régime, any Negro who manifested individuality, a mind of his own, and self-will was severely punished. If he remonstrated against the oppressive phases of slavery, he was put in chains. Slavery offered no special incentive for doing an unusual amount of work in a day. For the mass, there was nothing but an atmosphere of mental oppression. The slave system, therefore, tended to eliminate any members of the race whose ambition and self-will had survived the rigorous weeding out process in the ancestral tropical home. The unambitious and mediocre survived and became the progenitors of the generations which followed.

The Negro in America was compared in 1835 with the Indian by our sympathetic French critic and visitor, de Tocqueville: "These two unhappy races have nothing in common; neither birth, nor features, nor language, nor habits. Their only resemblance lies in their misfortunes. Both of them occupy an inferior rank in the country they inhabit; both suffer from tyranny; and if their wrongs are not the same, they originate, at any rate, with the same authors.

"The Negro, who is plunged in this abyss of evils, scarcely feels his own calamitous situation. Violence made him a slave, and the habit of servitude gives him the thoughts and desires of a slave; he admires his tyrants more than he hates them. . . . He conforms to the tastes of his oppressors, adopts their opinions, and hopes by imitating them to form a part of their community. Having been told from infancy that his race is naturally inferior to that of the whites,

he assents to the proposition and is ashamed of his own nature."[1]

After the belated but magnificent proclamation of freedom was made, there occurred the gigantic political blunder of giving the Negroes the right of suffrage when they were utterly unprepared to exercise it, when 90 per cent of their number was illiterate, uneducated, and unable to appreciate the meaning of the simpler principles of government, and when such enfranchisement gave them political power over the educated South. One of the inevitable results was a state of anarchy, which lasted as long as the highly developed race was subordinated.

Another unfortunate result was an increase of race prejudice. Under slavery, social contacts between whites and blacks were frequent. They took place on the basis of friendly and established relationships. But freedom brought race separation, friction, misunderstanding, and an increase of race prejudice. It appears that the Negro is less popular today in the South than he was fifty years ago.

The Negro population of the United States is increasing. It is now more than three times the total population of the country when Washington was inaugurated. It is far larger than the present population of Canada. While the absolute numbers have increased, the percentage of Negroes to Caucasians has decreased. In 1790, the Negroes numbered nearly 20 per cent of the entire population, while in 1920 they had decreased to about 10 per cent. This decrease and these percentages do not represent the full situation in the South. In Mississippi, about three of every five per-

[1] *Democracy in America*, I:338, 339.

sons are colored; while in Washington County of that state nine of every ten persons are colored. The majority of the inhabitants of South Carolina are Negroes, while Georgia, Alabama, and Florida are practically one-half colored.

Since the days of slavery the Negro has advanced in many particulars. He has made long strides in overcoming illiteracy. When emancipated, at least 90 per cent of the race was unable to read and write. Fifty years later this percentage had been reduced to 30. To have decreased their illiteracy record from 90 to 30 per cent in fifty years is a praiseworthy achievement.

In the industrial field, the black man's progress has been noteworthy. It is estimated that the Negroes in the United States own or are paying for 20,000,000 acres, or 32,000 square miles of land — an acreage equal to the combined area of Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. As tenant farmers they are cultivating an additional 40,000,000 acres. They own taxable property to the amount of $500,000,000, or $45 per capita. These figures are large, for only fifty years ago the Negro owned practically no property and possessed little knowledge of methods of acquiring and of holding property. The Negro in our country is accredited with maintaining 100 insurance companies and 75 banks. The business men of the race have organized a National Negro Business Men's League.[2] There are about 500 Negro colleges

[2]A novel business establishment of the race is the Negro Doll Company of Nashville, Tennessee. The Negro doll is described as "a neat, prim, well-dressed, well-behaved, self-respecting doll." It is hoped that the colored doll will have the effect of instilling a feeling of respect for the race in Negro girls and women.

and normal schools, and 40,000 Negro churches. In many of these matters the Negro has received considerable aid from his Caucasion friends in both the South and North. On the other hand, he has had to face singlehandedly countless obstacles.

The mass of the race, however, still live in a state of poverty. The percentage of pauperism and shiftlessness is very high. The race suffers from a lack of industrial education, a low economic status in the midst of a higher industrial civilization, and a scarcity of appropriate stimuli.

The criminal records of the race are also high. The Negro racially represents a set of lower cultural standards than the Caucasian. From the level of higher standards, many moral acts on the lower levels are considered illegal and immoral. Another element in this untoward situation is the fact that two races of different standards are living in the same territory. Wherever such a condition exists, the lower moral strata of the higher race tend to contaminate the whole lower race. There is no doubt that on his cultural plane, the Negro is as moral as is the Caucasian on a higher level of development. If the Negro were raised to the cultural status of the Caucasian, his criminality would compare favorably. There are many reports to the effect that in the courts the Negroes do not receive justice. "They are persecuted, despised, rejected, and discriminated against before every court in the South."[3] An intermixture of races is taking place illegally About one-third of the black race contains white blood in varying degrees. The intermixture is greatest in

[3]Cf. R. R. Wright, Jr., National Conference of Social Work, 1919, p. 540.

the border states and least in the Black Belt. The amalgamation takes place under legally and socially abnormal conditions. As a result there is a vast cauldron of evil, vice, and crime continually boiling. Americanism is thereby irreparably damaged. It is to be noted, however, that out of these vicious conditions, some of the best leaders of the Negro race have come.

Negro migration to the Northern states has always constituted a special problem, but in recent years the circumstances have assumed a very serious nature. The South needs the labor of the Negro; she suffers industrially from his departure. In the North, the Negro's problems of adjustment are manifold. The new immigrants from the South congregate in the large Northern cities; they do not go to the rural districts. They naturally seek urban districts; but these are greatly overcrowded and notorious for congested housing conditions. Vice conditions have also developed. The disease rate and the death rate run exceedingly high.

During the World War, the industrial needs of the North attracted thousands of Negroes. They overflowed the colored sections and crowded out into the white districts where race friction and prejudice developed into race riots and produced serious indictments of American democracy. These race riots have defied the claims that ours is a country where law and orderly progress prevail. We have decried the pogroms in Poland and Russia and the massacres in Turkey, but have found ourselves helpless before the reigns of terror and the slaughter of the innocents in our home land.

In the World War, the Negro furnished 300,000 soldiers. In France and Italy the Negro soldier was received on a social par with the white soldier in a large number of instances. But upon his return home, the Negro soldier found the color line drawn tighter than when he left and in a country which had entered the war in order to make the world safe for democracy. The War raised several disturbing questions in the mind of the Negro. The chief of these questions was this: "If I am good enough to fight for democracy 'over there,' am I not good enough to be treated democratically here at home?"

During the World War the champion riveter in the United States was a colored man, Knight by name, who succeeded in breaking the world's record for driving rivets into the hull of a steel ship. The effect of this achievement was electrical. "It helped to create a new sense of importance and of dignity among Negro workingmen." It is true that in many ways Negro unrest has been encouraged. As a result of the World War and its attendant implications, the Negro is asking for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, a real share in the government to which he contributes taxes, work, and life, a federal law against lynching, justice in the courts, and the abolition of economic and social discrimination.

From the standpoint of Americanization, what is the Negro problem? In the first place, the leaders of the race are divided into two camps. Booker T. Washington was the chief representative of one division, while W. E. B. DuBois is the best known spokesman of the opponents. Washington believed that the race

problem consisted, primarily, in making the Negro an industrially efficient worker. In this way, he will become of indispensable service to his neighbor and community. Washington's dictum was that race prejudices decrease as economic efficiency increases. When the Negro fills well the basic occupations he may aspire to higher positions. While Washington believed in all types of education, he emphasized industrial instruction as the most vitally needed by the race as a group. When the Negro succeeds in industrially independent ways, white people will forget his color, and race prejudice will gradually die out.

At this point Washington apparently did not consider the possibility that the educated Negro might compete successfully with the white skilled laborer or even with the white professional man. In an event of displacement of a white artisan or professional man by a colored person, even though the latter were better trained and more efficient, the question of race prejudice would undoubtedly come to the front and create new and serious difficulties.

In matters of social interest, Washington took the attitude that the white and black races should remain separate like the fingers of the hand. The announcement of this principle in 1897 at Atlanta, known as the Atlanta Compromise, raised a storm of protest on the part of many colored people. While Jim Crow regulations, such as separate cars and waiting rooms reduce race friction, they are humiliating to self-respecting Negroes. Booker T. Washington, however, always strongly advised his people that before demanding social recognition, they should do things in a ma-

terial and mental way that would merit recognition. Industrial unity with and social separateness from the white race, thus, became Washington's doctrine. In support of this view, Washington spoke and labored heroically.

The opposing division of the Negro race has been lead by W. E. B. DuBois and others. Professor Kelly Miller, while highly appreciative of Booker T. Washington's viewpoint and work, leans to DuBois' side of the issue. Dr. DuBois holds that the Negro problem consists in removing the white man's prejudice against the black race. He asks that all pre-judgments against the Negro be removed and believes that then the Negro will prove himself capable and worthy. The prejudice against the Negro results in isolation both ways: the Negro is shut off from the best of Caucasian culture; and the Caucasian is prevented from understanding the Negro. The following excerpts present Dr. DuBois' point of view:

"The humblest white employee knows that the better he does his work the more chance there is for him to rise in business. The black employee knows that the better he does his work the longer he may hope to do it; he cannot often hope for promotion.

"Thus the white young man starts in life knowing that within some limits and barring accidents, talent and application will tell. The young Negro starts knowing that on all sides his advance is made doubly difficult if not wholly shut off by his color.

"Why deride the Negro race for not producing scholars when a few decades ago it was denied the use

of letters? Why expect great Negro statesmen where Negroes are not allowed to vote?[4]

Among Southern white people, the attitude of Thomas Nelson Page is typical. Mr. Page believes that the Negro problem centers in the fact that the old feelings of affection that existed between many members of the two races before the Civil War have now passed away and been supplemented by indifference, misunderstanding, and even by hostility. Mr. Page states that the hostility toward the Negro in the South is due to the fact that the younger generation of Negroes have been taught that they are the social equals of the white man, and that they are always trying to prove that teaching in every way except the right, that is, by genuine worth and work.[5] It is thus the contention of Mr. Page that the Negro is primarily at fault and must change his attitude.

At this place mention may be made of the *Clansman,* or the *Birth of a Nation,* a motion picture film which deals in part with the Negro problem. This film does the Negroes gross injustice in their relations with the white race. While the harrowing illustrations of the actions of individual Negroes undoubtedly represent actual happenings, they present the darkest phases of Negro life. They exhibit the meanest elements in the Negro régime during the Reconstruction period. Only a few glimpses of the worthy side of Negro character are shown. The *Clansman* gives historical half-truths. Its vivid representations in picture form appeal directly to the emotions, engender race hatred, and re-open

[4] *The Philadelphia Negro,* ch. XIV.
[5] *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem.*

healed sores. As *Uncle Tom's Cabin* depicts the white race in its worst treatment of the colored race, so the *Clansman* presents the colored race in its worst attitudes toward the white man.

Northern white people have said that the Negro problem rests in the failure of the Southerner to perceive that he has an unfilled social responsibility to meet in behalf of the colored man. It has been pointed out by several writers that there is a white problem as well as a black problem in the United States. A new social attitude is needed by the Southern white people as well as by the Negro. Southern white people must keep in mind the need of assisting the Negro to help himself up. On this point the most valuable and succinct discussion is that by George Elliot Howard, entitled "The Social Cost of Southern Race Prejudice."[6]

According to Dr. Howard, the South, as a whole, can advance only when all the inhabitants attain high levels of efficiency, and when all are successful and progressing. The same rule applies likewise to the nation. In matters of law and order, in the fields of health and upright living, the entire South is dependent upon the character and welfare of the humblest citizen. If sections of the South are degraded, the contamination will weaken the whole mass.

In view of the foregoing discussion it may be said that the Negro problem in our country originally centered in slavery, then in reconstruction, then in disenfranchisement, and recently in segregation, but always in race prejudice.

[6] *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXII:577-93.

What should an Americanization program include that will help solve the Negro problem? First, there must be wholesale education along agricultural, industrial, and trade lines for the mass of the Negro race, and higher educational provisions for the members of the race who are fitted to undertake advanced studies. This educational program must include instruction in the fields of personal worth and social responsibility, and give that broad training of mind and spirit which will produce large numbers of Negro leaders for the race. In this movement all must participate, white and black, North and South, the Federal Government and state governments. The Negro asks if it is democratic for Southern States on an average to spend several times as much money annually in educating each white child as in educating each colored child? The Negro insists that the ignorant person cannot act intelligently, and that abusing him cannot make him act intelligently. The problem affects the welfare of the entire nation and its solution requires the careful attention of the whole country.

A second type of procedure is to keep the ballot open to the Negroes who are prepared to exercise its prerogatives. In 1868, the grievous mistake was made of giving the Negro the right of suffrage before he was educated and fitted to assume civic responsibilities. But in a political democracy, we should educate first, and then give the right of suffrage. Consequently, according to the democracy of the Constitution, Negroes are entitled to the privilege of voting as rapidly as they as individuals are prepared to pass fair citizenship tests. The world, listening to our profession of democ-

racy, cannot understand why colored people should be allowed to vote in the Northern States but denied that opportunity in the Southern States.

We face the anomalous situation of having conscripted the Negro for military purposes and of considering him good enough to give up his life and all that he holds dear for the sake of his country, but not good enough to be trained for citizenship. In a perfected democracy all individuals who may be called on to sacrifice their lives for their country are entitled to citizenship training. The Negro is especially entitled to this training, for his loyalty is unquestioned, he has no hyphen in his name, he is not an alien, he gives no allegiance to any other country, he is willing to fight and die for democracy.

"Do you vote?" a Negro in Louisiana was asked. "I done passed up politics long ago," he replied. "I got property enough to qualify, but its *onhealthy*." This statement illustrates the chief phase of the problem of educating the Negro for voting and of keeping the vote open to him when he is prepared.

A third procedure is to undermine race prejudice. Each race is prone to see the faults of and to overlook the best qualities in other races. There is need for a renaissance of the attitude of recognizing true worth, wherever it shows itself, irrespective of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Negro, when given the advantages and training which the Caucasian has had during the last few centuries, will probably make a worthy record as a race. Race superiority seems to rest largely on physical environment and cultural backgrounds.

A new light on the Negro's record was given at the National Conference of Social Work in 1918 by James W. Johnson who pointed out that for every 100 colored citizens called in the first conscription, 36 qualified for service, while out of every 100 white citizens, 25 qualified. Further, a lower percentage of Negroes than Caucasians were rejected for tuberculosis, for alcoholism, for flat-footedness, and for feeble-mindedness.[7] If given time and opportunity, the Negro apparently will manifest attainments which will show that pure prejudice against him is unfair and hence undemocratic.

Race prejudice must be overcome if lynch procedure is to be stopped. In every month of the year, lynchings in defiance of law occur in the United States. Concerning lynchings, President Wilson said that "every one of them has been a blow at the heart of ordered law and human justice." Every person who assists in a lynching is a betrayer of democracy, according to President Wilson. Race prejudice in so far as it manifests itself in lynchings in a land "where the courts of justice are open and the governments of the states and the nation are ready and able to do their duty" is undemocratic. "How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples, if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak?"

It was James Bryce who asked how could "the haughty assertion of superiority by the whites and the suppressed resentment of the more advanced among the colored people, be prevented from ripening into

[7]National Conference of Social Work, 1918, pp. 385ff.

a settled distrust and hostility?"[8] Mr. Bryce answered his own question by asserting that race prejudice might be treated successfully by an application of the principles of the Gospels.

As the Negro rises on the scale of industrial success and of social worth, he must take special care not to assume a haughty, boastful, or superior attitude. By so doing he can help materially in allaying race prejudice against him. His achievements and worth will speak more constructively for him than oratory or argument can do. The white man, likewise, needs to show continuously an attitude of good feeling and a spirit of helpfulness toward the Negro. In his dealings with the Negro, he cannot afford as an American to act unjustly or unnecessarily to arouse resentment.

By nature, the Negro is affectionate, teachable, willing. He possesses a talent for public speaking and a remarkable love of music. The latter expresses itself either in spirituals and folk songs, or in ragtime and jazz. Almost the only outlet for the musical ability of a Negro young person is the vaudeville and other inferior institutions — institutions which pull a Negro down rather than help him up.

The Negro is "exasperatingly cheerful under the worst conditions." He has a saving and refreshing sense of humor. He fights well for his country. He is highly patriotic. He is singularly susceptible to improvement, open to religious suggestions, and carries with him the genius of a long-suffering virtue.[9] "He

[8] *The American Commonwealth*, VI:529.

[9] A. B. Hart, *National Ideals Historically Traced*, pp. 50, 65.

has accepted the tongue, the religion, the literature, and the standards of his former masters."

We need to develop the habit of appreciating the Negro's good traits, of helping him to help himself up the educational highways, and of keeping the ballot open to him when he is qualified to use it. And he, on the other hand, must center his attention upon genuine achievement and solid worth both as an individual and as an American.

PROBLEMS

1. What was the main factor in the African history of the Negro?
2. What was the chief element in the slavery status of the Negro for understanding the Negro problem?
3. What fundamental mistake was made at the close of the Civil War in dealing with the Negro?
4. How far is the Negro allowed to vote today?
5. What can be done toward giving the Negro the vote in such a state as Mississippi where the Negro represents a majority of the people?
6. How do you rate the industrial progress which the Negro has made in the last fifty years?
7. What percentage of Negroes have white blood?
8. What is the main cause of this admixture?
9. Is the mulatto a higher type than the full blood Negro?

10. If race conflict always ends in either (a) deportation, (b) extermination, or (c) miscegenation, how will the Caucasian-Negro conflict in this country end?
11. Is miscegenation increasing or decreasing?
12. How does the Negro rank criminally? Why?
13. What is the difference in the treatment of the Negro criminal in the North and in the South?
14. How do you explain the Negro's status with reference to poverty?
15. What is the social significance of Negro dolls?
16. Why does the Negro in the South today have fewer contacts with the Caucasian than under slavery?
17. Do American school teachers give equal opportunity to the black child and the white child in the school room?
18. Will education of the Negro eliminate race prejudice against him?
19. Why do many Negro children seem unable to learn after reaching the age of 12 or 13 years?
20. If a Negro infant were reared from birth under the same advantages as a white child, would he develop to the same degree?
21. What is the Black Belt?
22. Compare Washington's and DuBois' solutions for the Negro problem.
23. Compare the North and the South in their respective attitudes toward the Negro.
24. Who should assume the major responsibility in solving the Negro problem?

25. Is it true that "those who want to keep the Negro down, need to get up themselves"?
26. What would you suggest as an adequate solution of the Negro problem?
27. Distinguish between the Negro's problem and the Negro problem.

Chapter X

THE MOUNTAINEER

There are between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 mountaineers in the United States whose environment precludes their contact with progress. The chief group of these Americans is located in Appalachia; other groups of a miscellaneous nature are found in the Ozarks, Adirondacks, Rockies, and Nevadas. The Appalachian mountaineers, because of their large numbers, will receive the major attention in this chapter.

Appalachia has been described as one of the land-locked areas of the earth, "more English in speech than Britain itself, more American by blood than any other part of America, encompassed by a high-tensioned civilization, yet less affected today by modern ideas, less cognizant of modern progress, than any other part of the English-speaking world."[1] Appalachia is 500 miles long by 200 miles wide, or nearly as large as the combined area of the New England states and New York. It comprises over 200 mountain counties, and includes 100,000 square miles of territory. It begins at the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, extends through West Virginia, and includes the mountainous section of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Eastern Tennessee, Eastern Kentucky, Northern Georgia, and Northern Alabama.

The people of Appalachia are of Scotch, Scotch-

[1] Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders*, p. 380.

Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Swiss, and Palatinate German origin. They are in part of Cavalier and Huguenot ancestry. According to President W. G. Frost, of Berea College, they are our contemporary ancestors. They are the descendants chiefly of Scotch-Irish and Scotch colonists who straggled up into the Appalachian fastnesses and settled down while time went on. They are anthropological survivals of colonial days. They represent a larger proportion of Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution than any other group of people in the United States.[2]

The mountaineers of Appalachia may be divided into three classes: the advanced, the normal, and the degenerate.[3] The advanced type live in the cultivated valleys that are in direct contact with civilization. They have established prosperous cities. It is this class that produced Stonewall Jackson, Daniel Boone, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln. The normal mountaineer is in a belated state. He has come, however, from a good racial stock, and his backwardness is due not to lack of ability, but to lack of stimulation. To him, the leading place in this chapter will be given. Then, there is the degenerate in the mountains who in many ways is like the "poor white trash" of the rural lowlands. He corresponds also to the lowest social strata in our cities. He is largely the product of inbreeding.

In mountainous regions many unusual conditions are found. Elizabeth W. Klingberg describes interestingly a large family in Appalachia in which the

[2]W. G. Frost, "Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains," *Atlantic Mon.*, 83:311ff.

[3]S. T. Wilson, *The Southern Mountaineers*, pp. 19ff.

youngest two children were without "given" names.[4] It was impossible to enroll them in school. When the teacher visited the home, the mother gave the almost incredible explanation that all the names she knew or liked had been given to the older children, and that she had been totally unable to provide names for the youngest two. In this home, there was no scrap of reading matter, no Bible, almanac, or school book.

Carpets on the floors of single room cabins are rare. A piece of cloth placed in a tin of grease serves the purposes of a lamp. Barter prevails. Chickens sometimes serve as money; the "face value" of a hen is said to be about three yards of calico. Eggs are used in making change.

Little scientific knowledge is available. Diseases, such as trachoma, are prevalent. In 1916, it was reported that in one county—Knott County, Kentucky, three state parties, Democratic, Republican, and Progressive, had planks in their platforms asserting that they would fight trachoma in that county through governmental action.

From the daily speech of the Southern mountaineers, hundreds of words have been gathered which have been obsolete since about the sixteenth century or have survived only in the dialects of England.[5] Some of these words possess a decided Chaucerian flavor. Sample terms are smilingest, talkingest, knittingest, jail-house, bible-book, nap o' creek, creek o' land. In certain localities, to be angry, means to be ambitious; worrited, to be tired; and, flower-pot, any kind of a

[4] *South Atlantic Quarterly*, October, 1915.

[5] S. S. MacClintock, "The Kentucky Mountaineers and Their Feuds," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, VII:27ff.

bouquet. The quaint methods of expression and the independent attitude of mind are indicated in the following statements:

"Wal, I reckon things is about evened up in this world. You've been everywhere and seen everythin', but I kin spin."

"We uns that cain't read or write have a heap of time to think, and that's how we know more than you all."

The typical preachers have been noted for their lack of education. They must be "called"; they must preach without preparation. Salaried ministers have been considered an abomination unto the Lord. The preaching is still dogmatic, hortatory, and dramatic. Various Baptist denominations are the most common types of religious bodies; Methodists and Presbyterians are also represented.

The mountaineer's conception of the country at large, of current Americanism, of international issues is "shadowy and attenuated." Regarding the affairs of the world, he has little conception. National problems, ordinarily, are so far remote from the daily thinking of the average mountaineer that these vital affairs rarely enter the range of his interests.

A visitor to the mountain fastnesses from Chicago or Washington or Atlanta is called a "furriner."[6] A person from Europe may be called "an outlandish." When Mr. Bryan returned from his trip around the globe, a mountaineer referred to the Nebraskan as having "kem back from the other world."

In time of national war, the mountain people are

[6]Kephart, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

ready to volunteer. Their emotions are quickly aroused. Their records as fighters are replete with deeds of bravery, from the battle of King's Mountain to the present time. In the Civil War they furnished 100,000 volunteers for the Union armies. Their record in the recent World War was likewise splendid. But their patriotism is of the eighteenth century colonist type. They love liberty. They are glad to die for liberty. They possess the characteristics of a fundamental social democracy. Social castes are almost unknown among mountaineers. The prevailing social standard is best expressed in their own language: "I'm as good as you are."

The family and the clan are perhaps the outstanding social units. An offense to one member of the clan is considered an offense to all members. Feuds result. The causes of these feuds are manifold. (1) Blood relationship is the bond of social solidarity; there is no neutral ground. (2) The people possess the Buffalo Bill type of fighting spirit which is a characteristic of pioneering in the wilderness. The heavily-loaded pistol hangs ready at the hip, while the dangerous Winchester is a common possession. (3) Overlapping land claims frequently result in temporary disputes that culminate in blood feuds. In Kentucky, the land titles are more confused than in any other American state, because of the overlapping land grants that have been made. (4) Sheriffs and other representatives of the law freqeuntly favor one side or the other in a feud. Consequently, the individual feudist acquires the habit of administering justice, as he sees fit, and on his own initiative. (5) A man who refuses to participate in

a feud and to fight for his clan is ostracized by his own group. (6) There is a lack of steady, organized work and a consequent abundance of time which leads to idleness. Jealousies and personal enmities quickly arise, and conversation and small talk take precedence over work.

The mountaineer has been frequently alienated from whole-hearted adoption of Americanism because of the exploitation of the natural resources of his mountain homelands by commercial enterprise. He has been startled by the screaming of steam whistles and the booming of dynamite. He has watched the best trees of the forests fall and float down the streams. He has seen the rivers dammed and their forces transformed into units of colossal power. He has been dazed "by electric lights, nonplused by speaking wires, awed by vast transfers of property, incensed by rude demands. Aroused, now, and wild-eyed, he realizes with sinking heart that here is a sudden end of that Old Dispensation under which he and his ancestors were born, the beginning of a New Order that heeds him and his neighbors not a whit."[7] In addition to the suddenness of the commercial invasion there is its mercenary and ruthless character. The words of a Northern lumberman are reported by Horace Kephart as follows: "All that we want here is to get the most we can out of this country, as quick as we can, and then get out." This dispossession of the mountaineer, although carried out by native Americans, is truly deplorable and makes the work of genuine Americanization infinitely difficult.

[7]Kephart, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

What contributions can the highlander make to Americanism? He is noted for his independence of spirit and his pride. He has been unable to fall back upon others for help; he has had to cultivate his own resourcefulness at every turn. He is equally proud of his individual success and his mountain habitat. An old settler from the mountains of Northern California visited San Francisco a few years ago after having been away from that city for several decades. The village which he had last seen in 1857 had grown into a dazzling city. He was shown the urban marvels and was expected to exclaim in terms of wonder and amazement by the proud urbanite who conducted him about. Instead, in a spirit of ennui, he merely replied: "Wal, I reckon things have changed some since I was here before." He was anxious to return to his mountain environment with its (to him) superior advantages. A mountain woman who visited rural friends in Ohio was glad to return to her mountain home, whereupon, she exclaimed: "Law sakes, there warn't nary a hill fer me to land my eyes up aginst."

The independence and pride of the mountaineer are shown in many ways. He admires the established order; and "to change it, is fairly impious." He scorns the strangers who boast about modern improvements. "Shrewdly he observes them in their relation to each other:

'Each man is some man's servant,
Every soul is by some other's presence quite discrowned.'

Proudly he contrasts his ragged self: he who has never

acknowledged a superior, never has taken orders from living man, save as a patriot in time of war."[8] He refuses to carry an umbrella; such an act he considers the mark of a weakling. He will suffer severe pain without flinching. He hides his emotions; his feelings are subliminal. He scorns luxury as being effeminate.

Typical mountain people are hospitable and obliging to a surprising degree. They welcome frank and kindly treatment; they are quick to resent an air of patronizing condescension. They are reticent, but sensitive. Delicacy and privacy are uncommon among them. When once aroused, they speak bluntly and without fear of consequence.[9] Their honesty is rarely questioned. Moral stamina is characteristic of these "butternut-jeansed, rawhide-booted, and calico-sunbonneted people." They are noted for strong physiques and powers of endurance. They possess an elemental courage and an unflinching sense of justice. Their unjaded nerves are in strong distinction to urban neurasthenia. Their quaint humor is a valuable asset. Their indifference to luxury is a much-needed antidote to the deplorable urban extravagance. They possess many qualities which when rightly and extensively acquired throughout the United States would greatly strengthen our Americanism.

Americanization of the mountaineers involves moving them forward two centuries on the dial of American civilization. "Time has lingered in Appalachia." The people are unacquainted with civilization; they constitute sound material for the twentieth-century

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 381.

[9] The descriptions of mountain life in the novels, for example, of John Fox, Jr., possess scientific value.

Americanization process. They must be released from their shackles of ignorance. They must be freed from their blood-feuds. Their loyalty, which is high in view of their isolation, must be put in tune with current American ideals. For the reason that they and the nation have grown apart, they must receive the sympathetic attention of the nation.

The mountaineers need protection from inbreeding and the resultant degeneracy that is found in many mountain regions. They need to be educated industrially, freed from poverty, and enabled to possess the fullness of their localities. Education should be extended widely and without stint by Federal, state, and local governments, working together. The regular day schools and industrial and trade schools should be established wherever mountain people live. Model farms are needed in every mountain county. Traveling teachers, wisely chosen, could work peaceful revolutions. Citizenship work is an outstanding necessity.

But the greatest need of all is the multiplication of the activities of all those institutions like Berea College, where native mountain leaders are being trained. Mountain regions can be truly Americanized only through the proper training of native mountain leaders — leaders to show the way agriculturally, industrially, domestically, patriotically. The result of this Americanization program would be the training of good farmers, good housewives, good mechanics, good patriots and Americans. And in return, the mountaineer can contribute to Americanism many needed qualities — physical endurance, neural solidity, moral courage, and indifference to enervating luxury.

PROBLEMS

1. Why have the mountaineers not advanced?
2. Why are feuds so common among the Appalachian mountaineers?
3. Why are mountaineers so pronounced in their likes and dislikes?
4. Distinguish between the Settlement School, the Moonlight School, and the Mountain College?
5. What is the most important quality that a teacher of the mountaineers should possess?
6. What would happen to the physical endurance, nerve stability, and indifference to luxury of the mountaineer if he were brought into contact with twentieth century Americanism?
7. How can you educate the mountaineer when he considers education a luxury and a disutility?
8. If the Appalachians come from the same energetic stock as other Americans, why do they not overcome their environment?
9. Are the best traits of the mountaineer a result of his isolated condition?
10. What are the chief gifts that the mountaineers can make to Americanism?
11. What is the greatest need of the mountaineers?

PART THREE

THE FOREIGN-BORN AND AMERICAN IDEALS

Chapter XI

THE NORTH EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT

The North European immigrant includes the English, the Celt, the Scandinavian, the Dutch, and the German. These peoples came as colonists and immigrants and gave Americanism its fundamental trend.

The English stand at the head of the group in their influence upon the United States. They have given us our language. As forms circumscribe and give direction to tendencies, thus the English language has exerted a widely unsuspected influence upon American life. By using that language we have been fed unconsciously and continually from the storehouses of thought, literature, and customs of the English people with their millenium of national experiences.

Our primary social institutions have come from the English. Our attitudes toward the family and the school originated in large part in England. Our political and social institutions are English. England gave us our first ideas concerning civil liberty and the doctrine of the consent of the governed. Our standards of right and wrong and our religious conceptions have been either made or molded by British influence.

The English colonist and immigrant have contributed strong intellectual powers to American life. As their language brought to us the richness of the Greek, Latin, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon cultures, so their race has contributed to our type an amalgamation of Celtic, Norman-French, and Anglo-Saxon qualities. They have brought more bodily vigor, endurance, and constitutional energy than any other group of immigrants. In fact, they have determined the fundamental nature of the American.

Their psychical gifts include decision, nerve-energy, and intellectual independence. "Each man walks, eats, drinks, shaves, dresses, gesticulates, and in every manner acts and suffers without reference to the bystanders," except to be careful not to interfere with them. Each newcomer from England is an island in himself.[1] He is self-contained. He brings a towering degree of self-assurance. "Of all persons, the Englishman stands firmest in his shoes."

His social contributions to American life include an emphasis upon plain dealing, a habit of matching plain force with force, a reluctance to run away, a desire to die game. He has brought to our shores an admiration for custom and propriety. He prefers those customs "where the memory of man runneth not back to the contrary." He is fastidious in wanting things done in good form. He prides himself on the exactness of his clothing and equipage.

He has stood for individualism and conservatism. He admires you if you are decided in your opinions and tender toward honored customs. He possesses

[1]R. W. Emerson, *English Traits*, p. 104.

many anomalous elements in his nature. A contradictory factor in his democratic character is evidenced by the homage he pays to wealth and to the laws of inheritance, in his tolerance of an antiquated House of Lords, and a king stripped of political power.

The Englishman's self-restraint is especially noticeable when compared with American volubleness. His stoical self-control contrasts with American enthusiasm. His conservatism is clearly delineated when thrown upon the screen of American adaptability. An English publisher hesitates to accept a manuscript in an entirely new field, while an American publisher will not consider a manuscript unless it represents a new realm of thought. An American officer visited a tailor shop in London in order to have the pocket in his military coat altered. The English tailor after examining the coat replied slowly: "It can't be done." "But," said the officer, "do you know what an American tailor would do? He would examine the pocket and say: 'Be seated; it'll be ready for you in twenty minutes.' "

Amercanization should include a program for the development of a better understanding by Americans of their English heritage. In our schools, we are taught concerning our wars against England; our hatred for the Red Coats of Revolutionary days remains with us. We are rarely taught our indebtedness to the English, that we were a part of England politically for two centuries — a longer period than that of our existence as a separate nation. We forget that we, more than any other nation, are the children of England in social ideals.

Our likemindedness is shown by the fact that her colony, Canada, and we have lived side by side for many years in peace without establishing or thinking of establishing large standing armies and bristling fortresses. Canada and the United States have given the world an actual exhibition during the past decades of that future day when nations shall live in such a condition of agreement that even defensive armaments will not be needed. Canada and the United States have demonstrated a new expression of international friendship.

On the other hand, the Englishman in the United States today must bear an important part in a successful Americanization movement. He can do much to further a better understanding. He must be careful to soften his idiosyncracies. Too many English travelers in the United States have presented themselves as dudes or snobs. By them, unfortunately, we have been prone to judge all Englishmen. Moreover, the English immigrant is very reluctant, as a rule, to become a citizen of our country. Although he is like us in many ways and enjoys living here, he holds aloof from citizenship, preferring to live in part in the memory of the distinguished traditions of his fatherland. Americanization of the English immigrant is a delicate matter, involving a sympathetic understanding on the part of both Americans and English immigrants.[2]

The English immigrant feels that he is an elder brother to us and that he — like nearly all the other

[2]The reader will find a valuable discussion of the problems which a Britisher must solve in giving up his loyalty to Great Britain and becoming an American subject in "On Becoming an American" by H. J. Bridges.

immigrants from Europe — has come from an older and more dignified civilization than ours. He feels that Americanization advances may come only from him. But these advances often come tardily and even not at all. The Americanization program — based on a need for undivided allegiance — cannot wait unduly. The difference between an American and an Englishman which causes trouble when the question of Americanization arises has been well stated by Ian Hay Beith in his essay, "Getting Together": The American feels that he belongs to the greatest nation on the earth, and freely says so to the English immigrant; the latter feels that he comes from the greatest nation on the earth, and does not say so, because he assumes that every American agrees with him. A better understanding of these differences will serve to make easier the difficult task of Americanizing English immigrants.

The Celtic immigrants have brought to America the characteristics of one of the oldest stocks of Europe. It is interesting to note that Julius Caesar made reference to the lively traits of one of the early Celtic tribes. The story of the Middle Ages is replete with Celtic activities. By the seventeenth century, the Celts had become divided into politically and religiously antagonistic groups, e. g., the Scotch, Welsh, and Irish. In American pioneer days the Presbyterian Scots, or Scotch-Irish, played the chief Celtic rôle. In the nineteenth century, the coming of the millions of the Catholic Irish was the leading Celtic event in America.

The Welsh, rich in traditions and literature, have been slow to migrate. In the years preceding the World War, Welsh immigrants to the United States

rarely exceeded 1000 a year. They have settled chiefly in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Illinois.

The Scotch are either Highlanders or Lowlanders. The former are conservative and not given to migration. The latter have migrated both to Canada and the United States. They have furnished many sturdy pioneers to the New World.

The Scots who migrated to the United States in the eighteenth century, originally lived in Scotia, "a lowland pocket of territory" in southwest Scotland. They represented an amalgamation of Caledonians or Picts, Britons, Irish, Norwegians, Angles, Saxons, and Danes. In 1610, large numbers of this amalgamated people were moved to Ulster, the northern province of Ireland. They leased the Irish lands which had been confiscated by English and Scottish lords at the request of James I of England, who wished to transform Catholic Ireland into a Protestant Scotland or England.

By the year 1700, the Ulstermen had developed extensive woolen and linen manufactures. These industries were suddenly cut off by the enactment of Irish legislation at the behest of the British crown, which forbade the exportation of woolen and linen goods from Ireland. A few years later the one hundred year leases that the Scots held on the Ulster lands began to expire. For the new leases, the Irish overbid the Scots and left them landless. Heavy emigration resulted. Large numbers came annually to the American colonies.

As these Scots migrated from Ireland, they became known in America as Scotch-Irish. Finding Congregationalism the established state church in Massachu-

setts, they migrated to Pennsylvania and adjoining colonies. Later, they moved into Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois. Wherever they went, they were men of action. They became pioneers, doers, darers. They have contributed more than any other race to that type of American known as the Pioneer. They led in the building of the West.

The Scotch-Irish brought with them the spirit of democracy as developed in the Scotch kirk, a hatred of autocratic political domination, and an iron will. Will power is their leading contribution to American life. In war, exploration, and government, their leaders have been many and noted. The high point of Scotch Irish immigration was reached about 1720, and hence, the Scotch-Irish played an honored and integral rôle in the establishment and development of the United States.

Irish immigrants began to come to the United States in noticeable numbers about 1846. The failure of the potato crop in Ireland and English economic oppression combined to throw Ireland into a state of starvation. The operation of underlying causes made the Irish people peculiarly helpless in the presence of the potato famine. Landlord greed had reduced them to a low economic level. The hundreds of thousands of cattle, sheep, and other livestock, and other hundreds of thousands of bushels of grain that were shipped from Ireland during the famine would have been sufficient to prevent the disaster, but Ireland had no self-government and was unable to put an embargo on these large quantities of food.

In 1851, the immigration to the United States of the Irish reached a quarter of a million, its highest

point. Immigration continued, however, in the subsequent decades, but in diminished numbers. Irish immigration to the United States has totaled about 5,000,000, a figure larger than that represented by English immigration, larger than the present population of Ireland, and exceeded only by the German immigration to the United States. Boston and New York have been pronounced the largest Irish cities in the world.

The Irish immigrant has come from a land where he has been in a sense a man without a country, where he could not improve the premises which he leased without having his rent raised, and where he has been a strong nationalist and has wanted home rule. In the United States, he has forged ahead into positions of leadership in city wards and labor unions. He has had large and sometimes notorious representation among ward bosses and strike leaders.

On the other hand, he has reached a noteworthy rank in his ability to govern. When Mayor John P. Mitchell and the members of his cabinet came to Chicago, and were the guests of the City Club at luncheon, Henry Bruere, the only member of the mayor's official family present who was not an Irishman, declared that to govern one's self is godlike, but to govern others is Hibernian. Further, a city school superintendent is reported as saying: "Of two applicants, I take the teacher with an Irish name, because she will have less trouble with the problem of discipline and she will 'hit it off' better with the parents and the neighborhood."

Because of his temperament, the Irishman adjusts himself quickly to American institutions. He is quick

to appreciate the feelings of others. He is noted for his congeniality, which in places has gone to the extremes of conviviality. His imagination is a valuable asset. He is a good newspaper reporter, actor, and public speaker. He stirs the hearts of people. The Irishman has lent a greatly needed optimistic quality to American life. His lively good nature, quick wit, and illogical humor are needed to balance the too serious, materialistic phases of Americanism.

The strongest mental trait of the Irish immigrant is his striking disregard of circumstances.[3] Anything or anybody who arouses his wrath, feels his quick, oncoming rush. He is a fighter, but is far better on an offensive than on a prolonged defensive. Quick in action and reaction, he lands, when tripped, on his feet. His ability is available at the moment, wherever he is. His main assets as an American citizen are generosity, joviality, quickness in wit and action.

The Scandinavians have sent more than 2,500,000 of their people to America. They represent the European race which first discovered America. While the Norsemen came a millennium ago, and while Scandinavians arrived in colonial times, it was not until the days of the steamship that Scandinavian immigration assumed definite proportions. The advertising of the steamship companies, the unsuccessful Dano-Prussian war of 1866, and an industrial depression in Norway combined in starting many emigrants to the United States. This movement culminated in 1883.

Scandinavia has sent many trained artisans, but chiefly farmers and unskilled workers. Minnesota,

[3]E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, pp. 40ff.

the Dakotas, and Wisconsin have been their leading destinations. The Scandinavian immigrant carried to the United States his love for education. Because of his insignificant percentage of illiteracy, he has soon learned English, and has been assimilated readily. In fact, he has become assimilated in less time than any other non-English speaking immigrant. The second generation is scarcely distinguishable from American-born children.

The Scandinavian's demeanor is quiet, he sings in a minor key, and his folk-song possesses the dreaminess of the Orient.[4] He is slow to anger. He is not easily moved by fiery eloquence. He does not indulge in street rioting as a means of righting political wrongs. A shrewd lawyer who is defending violent lawbreakers tries to keep the Scandinavians from the jury box.

The Danish immigrant is the Southerner of Scandinavia. He comes from a nation of farmers, who are among the best trained and most intellectual agriculturists of the world. He is a strong advocate of rural education, a rural press, and rural political organizations. He comes from a country in which the farmer constitutes the ruling class,and a dominant element in Parliament. His is a heritage which is democratic industrially as well as politically, which denies the rights of special privilege, and which believes in a government operated by the producers.[5]

In the United States, the Dane has been a home builder. "East, West, hame's best." The Dane is also noted in this country as a successful dairy farmer,

[4]E. A. Steiner, *On the Trail of the Immigrant*, p. 113.
[5]Howe, F. C., "The High Cost of Living," ch. X.

chiefly in the Middle West. He is famed in the skilled trades. The best known Danish immigrants to the United States are Nils Paulson, philanthropist, and Jacob Riis, social worker.

Swedish immigrants are singularly homogeneous. Their home center is gregarious Stockholm. Theirs is a people which has given a world-beloved and sweet-voiced Jenny Lind to music, a Strindberg to literature, and a Nobel to invention and philanthropy. Co-education and out-of-door life have given their daughters a combination of sturdiness and femininity. Swedish immigrants have brought to the United States the ways of a genteel ancestry.

In the United States, the Swedish immigrants have been agriculturists in the northern states of the Middle West, and have become owners of large farms. In cities, they have been mechanics and have worked into the professions. Senator I. L. Lenroot, and Governors J. A. Burnquist and John Lind, of Swedish descent, have attained national distinction. The Swedish people have established several colleges in the United States, for example, Bethany College, Lindsburg, Kansas, and Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois.

The Norwegian is the product of a more rigorous climate than is his Swedish cousin.[6] He is more reserved, more austere in religion, less demonstrative, and less advanced culturally. But when stimulated and aroused, he is likely to go ahead with force and aggressively improve his opportunities.

The Norwegian immigrant has "the high spirit of a people which has never known the steam-roller of feu-

[6]Ross, *op. cit.*, 82ff.

dalism." It is said that he could order the king off his land if he so desired. He has been described as "a big, rough, uncultured child of nature"; he has come from stony and water-soaked lands which have yielded him a bare existence. His life in the home land has been one of toil and brooding, without comfort except that of his steadfast religious faith. His race has produced Ibsen, Björnson, and Grieg. Ibsen has influenced profoundly not only Scandinavians but continental Europe, England, and America. Björnson has been so beloved that the mention of his name to his countrymen "is like running up the national flag" of Norway. Grieg has reproduced in musical composition the northern folk-songs and "the wild, northern landscapes."

The Norwegian immigrant has become prominent in agriculture, settling chiefly in Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the Dakotas. He has also gone into the fishing and canning industries, and into many of the skilled trades. In national life, he has been represented by men such as Senators Knute Nelson and A. J. Gronna.

The Dutch have wielded an American influence far in excess of their numerical strength in our country. They contributed to English civilization before they influenced America, and thus, indirectly, through the English we are indebted to them. In the days of Henry VIII, the people of Holland were more advanced in many things than the English or the French and were constructively influencing the immediate ancestors of many of the colonists.

In New Amsterdam itself a certain cosmopolitanism prevailed which was characteristic of the Netherlands.

The life in New Amsterdam is described by the historians as being free, gracious, and broadly tolerant. The Dutch colonists stood for educational progress; they established an educational system in New Amsterdam as early as 1621. Both sexes received the advantages of education. For that early day, men and women possessed a unique type of equality. Neither party was married *to* the other; each was married *with* the other.[7] Sometimes the marriage contract provided that the wife and husband should inherit absolutely from the other. Marriage was established upon mutuality.

The Dutch early sponsored freedom of the ballot. and the square deal in all things. Not the least part that they have played in American development is their rôle in founding New York City. The majority of Dutch immigrants have become farmers in the Middle West, oftentimes establishing extensive rural colonies. As traders, they have settled in Eastern cities; and as technical engineers, in the industrial cities. They are noted for their thrift. Since 1607, when Henrick Hudson sailed up the majestic river which bears his name, the Hollanders have furnished many leaders to American life, for example, Philip Schuyler, and Presidents Van Buran and Roosevelt.

Immigrants from Belgium have not come to the United States in large numbers. They are of Celtic origin, being descendants of the ancient Celts called Belgae. They usually speak either Flemish or French. On one side they have acquired Dutch and German

[7] A. W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family*, I:167.

traits; and on the other, many French characteristics. They are Roman Catholics in religion.

In the United States the Belgians have followed agricultural pursuits and the trades. They established important rural colonies, notably in Illinois, where they have become prosperous farmers.

The first German migration to this country occurred in 1682 and the succeeding years, as a result of the activities of William Penn and his agents. At this time, Germantown, Pennsylvania, and other settlements were made by Pietists, Tunkers, Schwenkfelders, Mennonites, and other seekers for religious freedom.

The next German migration occurred between 1848 and 1855. After the Napoleonic wars, militaristic German governments assumed increased autocratic powers. At the same time the growth of the universities fostered the rise of liberalism, which in 1848 broke forth in open conflict with the military régime. The triumph of the former was brief; the latter soon made liberalism untenable; literally, millions of people migrated. In 1854 alone, more than 215,000 German immigrants came to the United States. This figure has been exceeded by the German immigrants but once, namely, in 1882.

Following the successes in the Franco-Prussian war, Prussian militarism acquired additional power, which together with the economic opportunities in the United States explains the high tide of German immigration which centered in the period about 1882. In the opening years of the present century, the majority of Germans were coming from outside the boundaries of

Germany — chiefly from Austria-Hungary. Over 6,000,000 Germans have migrated to the United States.

The German immigrant brought a doctrine of personal liberty which was akin to the colonist concept of liberty. The outstanding individual of the 1848-1855 liberalists from Germany was Carl Schurz, who attained the rank of major general in the Civil War, the position of minister to Spain, and of secretary of the interior in the cabinet of President Hayes. The movement of liberals to the United States has produced bitter opponents of special privilege in property, such as many of the Socialist Party leaders in this country.

The German immigrant of the nineteenth century attracted attention to himself because of his unremitting industry and thrift. He entered early upon agricultural pursuits; he pushed into the Middle West where he reaped substantial returns for his labors. His business success in the United States has also been noteworthy. It has been due, not to taking chances, but to steady plodding. He has taken fewer chances "in the lottery of life than his enterprising Scotch-Irish or Yankee neighbor." Unfortunately, his success has often led him into gross materialism. His contributions to business advance in the United States are attested by the mention of names, such as Schwab, Stetinius, Heinz, Spreckles, Busch, Studebaker, Hershey, Gunther, Kohlsaat, Knabe, Steinway, Bausch, and Lomb.

The German immigrants of the nineteenth century, as well as their children, have become as a rule loyal American citizens. They have repudiated and condemned militarism and autocracy, both industrial and political, for which Germany by 1914 had become

notorious. But the immigrant from Germany who came in the early years of this century has brought a stubborn degree of loyalty to the fatherland. He has been exceedingly reluctant to renounce his allegiance and faith in Germany. It is with these immigrants that the tasks of Americanization are difficult. The older German immigrant has reacted positively against the educational system of Germany whereby the masses have been turned into armies for the domination of the world. The newer immigrant has been slow to give up aristocratic, materialistic concepts, and has hindered the advancement of democratic idealism in the United States.

The North European has been the backbone of Americanism. But not all his best traits have yet found expression and not all his energy and ability has been turned to improving the quality of our democracy.

PROBLEMS

1. Why did the English settlements in America succeed better than the colonies of other peoples?
2. Distinguish between the individualism of the American and of the Englishman.
3. Why is the Englishman slow to understand an American joke?
4. What have been the main contributions of the English to Americanism?
5. Why do Americans generally fail to appreciate their indebtedness to the English?
6. Distinguish between the Irish and Scotch-Irish.
7. Explain the term, Hibernian.

8. Why have Irish immigrants entered politics?
9. Why are there relatively few Irish millionaires?
10. Distinguish between the Norwegian and Swedish immigrants.
11. Who is the leading Swedish inventor? Author? Singer?
12. Who is the chief Norwegian dramatist? Musical composer?
13. Why do Scandinavians assimilate rapidly in the United States?
14. Who would you say was the leading German immigrant who has succeeded in politics? In business? In music?
15. What should be our post-war attitude toward German immigrants?
16. Who are the Pennsylvania Dutch?

Chapter XII

THE SOUTH EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT

The French, Spanish, and Portuguese, the Swiss, the Italians, and the Greeks are the races which are here included in the term, South European Immigrant. The Jugo-Slavs will be discussed in the following chapter.

Although the French began to migrate to America in the days of La Salle and Louis XIV, French migration has always been small in numbers and has not caused serious assimilation problems except in New England whither the French immigrants from Canada settled. French immigration has been of three distinct types: the Huguenots, the French Canadians,and modern skilled classes.

The Huguenots, who came in colonial days, were a select group of manufacturers and merchants. They were enterprising and educated. They sought liberty. They were the Protestants or Puritans of France, characterized by austerity and purity. They settled chiefly in South Carolina, but also in other states, such as Virginia and New York. They furnished able American leaders, notably John Jay and General Francis Marion.

From Canada many French peasants have migrated to the New England states. The French-Canadians entered the mills or engaged in the fishing industry in New England. Here they have colonized and not be-

come assimilated. They have shown a reluctance to adopt American ways. Their illiteracy has been relatively high. They have experienced considerable dissatisfaction with factory and living conditions in the New England towns and cities and, consequently, there has been a noticeable return migration to French Canada.

Nineteenth and twentieth century migration from France has included, chiefly, skilled and professional people. Very few peasants have come direct from France. Our relations with France have been largely of a military, diplomatic, and cultural nature rather than of an immigration character. The recent French immigrants have been skilled, commercial, and professional in type. Skilled workers have located in Fall River, New York City, and Paterson, New Jersey. In Paterson, they have been prominent in developing the silk industry. New Orleans still remains a leading center of French influence. After all, French influence in the United Sattes has radiated chiefly from the eighteenth century philosophic trinity of Truth, Equality, and Justice.

The Spanish, long a migratory people and noted for their uniformity of type, have never migrated to the United States in large numbers. They have gone to Mexico, the Central, and the South American republics, and to the islands of the adjoining seas. They have penetrated our Southern states from Florida to California, but chiefly in our pre-national days. The early Spanish settlements were established in territory which later became a part of the United States. By this indirect method, Spanish influence has been strong. The effects of these pioneering efforts have been per-

sistent, especially in matters of religion, architecture, amusements, music.

In recent decades, the direct immigration has been very small. Spanish immigration for the past century has consisted of an irregular movement of individuals from the near-by Spanish-speaking countries. The skilled workers have gone to the large cities, such as Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, and to special centers, such as Tampa and Newark. There has been also an immigration of miscellaneous unskilled workers.

The immigration of Portuguese has raised problems out of proportion to the small numbers which have migrated. The Portuguese have rarely come direct from Portugal, but from the Cape Verde, Azores, and even from the Hawaiian Islands.

One of the chief Portuguese settlements in the United States is at New Bedford, Massachusetts. These people are in part the descendants of a group of Portuguese who were shipwrecked off the coast of Massachusetts. Nearly one-half of the Portuguese in our country are in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and adjoining states, where they have gone into the textile industries. Another large proportion of the Portuguese immigrants are in the central parts of California, where they are engaged in fruit-raising.

The standards of living of the Portuguese immigrant are low. The illiteracy has been very high. Hence, segregation is common, and Americanization and naturalization are taking place slowly.

The Swiss people are of French, Italian, and German descent. The German Swiss have furnished about two-thirds of the Swiss immigration to the United

States. Immigration to our country began about 1845. Some came as adventurers, some as land seekers, and others as craftsmen.

The German Swiss have gone into dairying; the French Swiss, into the restaurant and hotel business; and the Italian Swiss, into the grape and fruit industries, notably in California. All three groups have leading representatives in the jewelry business. All are noted as watch and clock makers. All have made good records in the arts and professions. The three groups, as a rule, remain socially separate in this country, but all become assimilated without creating special problems.

The average American does not know the average Italian. Americans have studied the Italy of fine arts, of palaces, and of cathedrals but not the peoples of Italy. Our ignorance of Italians is surprising in view of the fact that for years Italy sent us a quarter of a million of her citizens annually, and that in New York City there are more Italians than the total population of Rome. To many Americans, the Italian is merely a vender of fruits, a hand organ grinder, and a devotee of macaroni, or else he is an impulsive creature, greatly jealous of his wife, a smooth liar, and in some way connected with the Black Hand.

We forget that he comes from a race of conquerors, rulers, administrators, artists, musicians, and poets. We forget that it was a brave and fearless man of his race who introduced civilization to our continent, and that it was another man of his race whose name our continent bears. The Italian immigrant comes from a race which has three times led the world: first, politically; second, religiously; and third, intellectually.

The Italian comes from a stock which has produced world leaders, for example, Columbus, Marco Polo, Garibaldi, Mazzini, Savonarola, Cavour, Titian, Dante, Michaelangelo, Raphael, Marconi, Caruso, Tetrazzini, not to mention Cicero and his compatriots.

The Italian immigrant comes from North Italy or from South Italy and Sicily. The geographical and cultural divisions might easily be increased. The two-fold classification will suffice here. The North Italian is more advanced than the South Italian and Sicilian. In proportion to his numbers, his percentage of illiteracy is one-third as large, his school attendance is twice as great, he employs twice as many teachers and librarians, he publishes many more books, and buys more lottery tickets than his southern neighbors.[1] He earns higher wages in the United States, acquires citizenship sooner, is less turbulent, less criminally inclined, less transient than the South Italian and Sicilian immigrant.

Three-fourths of the large Italian immigration to the United States has come from South Italy and Sicily where the people have suffered long from economic oppression, low wages, and exorbitant taxes. The birth-rate in Southern Italy is very high and the density of population is exceeded in only a few places on the globe.

To the ordinary Sicilian, law and order have been symbolized commonly by the persons of the tax collector and the brutal policeman. In Sicily, consequently, the peasant has often taken the law into his own hands. It has been said that to avenge one's wrongs

[1] E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, p. 98.

one's self has been a part of Sicilian honor. Upon arrival in our country, the Sicilian is naturally distrustful of law and government. The American representatives of our government need to give the newcomers from Sicily and South Italy sympathetic impressions. Fear, dread, and suspicion of governmental officers need to be allayed as a first step in furthering the Americanization process.

In his love of art, and especially music, the Italian immigrant has valuable qualities to contribute to Americanism. Every Italian city has its art gallery and every Italian immigrant is an art lover. It has been said that the Italian immigrant who is sweeping the street or working in the railroad camp is not expressing the best that there is in his artistic, esthetic race; that he endures his work as the only way open to him for earning money; that no other immigrant brings such a wealth of beauty interests to the United States.

The Italian immigrant is very human. He is easily pleased and easily disappointed. He is ready to inconvenience himself in order to do a good turn. In the extreme, he has been accused of being polite to the extent that his word becomes undependable. He has a strong sense of personal dignity, and a large degree of both personal and national pride. His cheerfulness under stress of adversity is noticeable. But how far have we availed ourselves of the constructive potentialities of the Italian, which are needed for the development of a well-rounded Americanism?

A few years ago in Ohio, an Italian mining camp acquired a reputation which is conveyed by the term, Little Hell. A veteran of the Civil War, learning of

the nature of the labor camp, secured a talking machine, some records, bearing selections from Caruso and Tetrazzini, and some popular Italian airs, and going to the camp, set the phonograph in motion. He saw no "Little Hell," but radiant faces and appreciative souls. He was welcomed by warm hearts that were thankful for the sunshine that he brought. "The music opened the camp," reports Dr. Roberts, "and the old veteran of the Civil War won one of his most glorious battles when he brought that group of Italians into greater sympathy with America and Americans by the power of song."

The process of assimilating Italians can be simplified by appealing to them through art and music. Another part of the same process is to get the Italian immigrants to contribute their love of the esthetic and beautiful to Americanism, which is lacking in these qualities. The new Americanism, as Dr. Roberts has indicated, ought not to allow the mirth and song and other valuable qualities which the Italian possesses to be crushed out in the United States by crowded tenements, unsanitary labor camps, and the humdrum of daily toil.

The Greek immigrant comes from Socrates' land. It was recently pointed out that the editors of two Greek dailies published in New York bore the names of Solon J. Ulastos and Socrates Xanthaky.[2] Thus Solon and Socrates are at work even today in molding the lives of young Greeks.

The modern Greek is a direct descendant of ancient and glorious Greece. He is prone to indulge in the

[2]Thomas Burgess, *Greeks in America*, pp. 67, 68.

luxury of taking pride in his nation's wonderful achievements in centuries past. He comes from a land with three millenniums of continuous history. The opportunities for advancement in the United States, however, soon overcome the tendency of the Greek immigrant to rely overmuch on his racial heritage.

The passionate, quick-tempered, excitable nature of the Greek often causes misunderstanding in the United States. Where there are two Greeks, there are often three opinions. Loud talking, excited gesticulations, and a general commotion that seemingly will end fatally often prove to be nothing more than a friendly kind of conversation. Disorderly conduct on the part of the Greeks is sometimes due to their excitability.

The most important Greek settlements in our country are in New York City, Chicago, and Lowell. Sections of these and other cities are almost as Greek as Athens itself. The large preponderance of men — often there are not more than a few hundred women to several thousand men — create moral problems. Absence from the influence of women and of the home is an unfavorable condition.

In our large cities, the Greeks have captured several of the smaller forms of business. Shoe-shining establishments, fruit stores, candy kitchens, ice-cream parlors, restaurants, and hotels represent the business institutions through which the Greeks are meeting the minor wants of our urban populations.[3] In the United States, the Greek gains economically, but often loses in health and domesticity.

The Greek brings to the United States valuable traits. He possesses a courtesy and hospitality that

[3]H. P. Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, p. 20.

Americans do not always show. His courtesy is born of centuries of world-renowned culture. His love of drama, music, and other fine arts is passionate. It is pathetic to listen to a group of Greeks in prison, whiling away an afternoon, singing to the accompaniment of a guitar, and admit that for some reason or other the process of Americanization has temporarily broken down.

The Greek immigrant is a "natural-born" patriot. His loyalty to the cause of freedom is magnificent. "We are natural patriots," said a Greek to the writer. "For five hundred years we lived under the sword of despotic Turkey," continued my friend, "and we know what freedom means in the United States. You Americans, having always lived in a land of freedom, do not appreciate its advantages the way we Greeks do."

As yet, however, the United States has made no worthy effort to preserve the best qualities of the Greek immigrant. His love of drama and music, his hospitality, his patriotism, his love of the out-of-doors would all make valuable additions to Americanism, and in the process of making these gifts, the Greek would become American.

The status of the South Europeans, then, in the United States is as follows: The French, Spanish, and Swiss, because of smallness of numbers and general versatility present no serious problems. The Portuguese because of illiteracy and low standards call for special Americanization attention. The Italians and Greeks, proud possessors of a glorious past and characterized by fine artistic natures are waiting for opportunities to contribute to Americanism some of the very

qualities which it needs in order to become well-balanced.

PROBLEMS

1. Why have the French migrated to the United States in relatively small numbers?
2. What are the chief contributions of the Spanish immigrants to American life?
3. Why do not the Spanish migrate to the United States in large numbers?
4. What factors cause the differences between the North and the South Italians?
5. Explain the South Italian's attitude toward government.
6. Why do the poor people of Southern Italy know grand opera and the poor people of the United States know "jazz"?
7. How does the work of Marconi supplement the work of Columbus?
8. Who are the greatest living Italian artists?
9. Why has North Italian immigration gone largely to South America, and South Italian immigration gone chiefly to the United States?
10. What gifts has the Italian immigrant to offer the United States?
11. Why did the Greeks begin to migrate to the United States?
12. What are the chief occupations of Greek immigrants?
13. In what sense is the Greek immigrant a natural patriot?
14. Who was Michael Anagnostopulos?

Chapter XIII

THE SLAVIC IMMIGRANT

The Slavs in the United States may be classified in five groups: Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Czechoslovaks, and Jugo-Slavs. Other immigrant races that are related to the Slavs, which will be discussed in this chapter are the Magyars, Lithuanians, Letts, Finns, Bulgarians, and Rumanians. The Poles have come to the United States to a greater degree than any other Slavic group. The Russian immigrants have exerted an influence that is out of proportion to their rather small numbers. The Ukrainian immigrants are chiefly South Russians who have migrated to Transylvania and Galicia, and thence to the United States. The Czechoslovaks are the westernmost division of the Slavic peoples. The Jugo-Slavs have come from Southern Austria-Hungary, Servia, and the Balkans.

Polish history is a rehearsal of one of Europe's greatest tragedies. Poles were historically an enterprising, war-like race who built up an empire that was idealistic for its time, that twice defeated Asiatic hordes which attempted to overrun Europe, and that at one time held an authoritative place in the councils of Europe.

In the eighteenth century Poland was composed of several million peasants and a few hundred thousand nobles, with no middle class, except as the Jews might be so considered. Internal dissensions between the

widely divergent classes became rife and laid the country open to invasion on the part of greedy, land-hungry, autocratic neighbors. In the closing years of the eighteenth century Poland fell before the plotting of three imperial robbers, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Catherine the Second of Russia, and Maria Theresa of Austria. From 1815 to 1831 a new kingdom of Poland (Russian) existed under the suzerainty of the Czar. But Poland was again crushed under the heel of Russian autocracy.

Poland was unable to achieve independence again until 1918. In 1914, her divided territories were under control of Prussia, Russia, and Austria, respectively; her people had been reduced to a state of political slavery and industrial servitude. Because of these conditions the opportunities offered by the United States have drawn hundreds of thousands of Poles across the Atlantic.

Russian Poland is one of the most fertile regions of Europe, and one of the richest corn-growing districts of the world. In 1914, its chief city, Warsaw, had become the Birmingham and Sheffield of the Russian Empire.[1] But there was no self-government and even the use of the Polish language was forbidden. Russian Poland in 1914 was described as a country in which there were approximately 10,000,000 Poles pinned to Russia by the sword.

Austrian Poland, or Galicia, with a population of about 5,000,000 in 1914, has been the only section of former Poland where the native language had not been suppressed. Its two leading cities are Cracow and

[1] L. E. Van Norman, *Poland*, pp. 124, 126.

Lemburg. The former is said to be the most characteristically Polish city in the world, with its magnificent cathedrals and the University of Cracow which shortly before the outbreak of the World War had celebrated its 500th anniversary; the latter is the center of the free-thinking liberals. Industrially and educationally backward, the Austrian Poles never developed any special degree of loyalty to Austria.

In Prussian Poland, with Posen as its chief city, the 4,000,000 Poles were being gradually Prussianized in the nineteenth century. In the latter part of the century the policy of Bismarck was inaugurated; the Polish language was suppressed and the lands of the Poles were expropriated by the Prussian authorities. These and similar arbitrary acts on the part of the government aroused the Poles to the fact that they were being Prussianized. Their hatred for Prussia developed rapidly. By 1914, the Polish situation had become the most serious internal Prussian problem. Polish newspapers in Prussia were reported to be maintaining two sets of editors, one to go to jail for writing seditious articles, and the other to go on duty *ad interim*.[2] Polish Catholic priests were reported as teaching that even the good Lord does not understand German.

Then came the War — and another deplorable Polish tragedy. These people of an honored but dismembered empire, living under oppressive conditions, were compelled to fight in behalf of their hated overlords and against their own Polish brethren. The

[2]W. I. Thomas, "The Prussian-Polish Situation," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XIX:635.

Prussian and Austrian Poles were pitted, despite their wills, against the Russian Poles. Moreover, this forced inter-racial struggle had to be fought on their own Polish soil and at the expense of the destruction of their homes and property. At the close of the War in 1918 it was authoritatively said that scarcely a child under five years of age was alive in Russian Poland.

The outstanding trait of the Pole is his love of liberty. The rôle of the Polish knights of liberty is almost interminable. The Pole is not simply a defender of liberty; but he goes in search of opportunities to fight successfully for the cause. Consider Kosciuszko and Pulaski who came to fight in the war for freedom in our country. The latter gave his life in our behalf; and the former, years of valiant service for the sake of American independence. While leading the ill-fated Poles in one of their risings against the Russian tyrants, Kosciuszko fell wounded. In describing this incident the English poet, Campbell, gave immortality to the leading Polish characteristic as follows:

Freedom shrieked when Kosciuszko fell.

What patriot of any fatherland has ever raised a question so significantly loyal as that of the Polish Kraszevski who asked: "Can heaven really be so grand as to make us forget Poland?"

At a banquet in New York City a few years ago, a Polish patriot declared: "Where liberty is, there is my country." But a younger Pole more accurately expressed the Polish spirit, when he asserted: "Where liberty is not, there is my country." The Pole fights

not simply for Polish liberty, but for the cause of liberty anywhere.

Polish love of art stands out strongly. In the field of music, Chopin's iconoclastic ideas cry out the tragedy of Poland. Paderewski, famous as a pianist, is greater as a Polish patriot. Then there is Madame Sembrich, of whom one critic has said: "She has as perfect a voice as has ever been heard on earth and used in connection with as perfect a technique," and Madame Modjeska, whose dramatic art was characterized by purity of aim and great force. In the field of scholarship, the leading figure is that of Nicolaus Koppernigh. Perhaps the greatest of Polish poets was Adam Mickiewicz, who, after the death of Pushkin, was known as the head of Slavic literature. He possessed splendid powers and turned his skill to describing Polish life, homes, feuds, manners, and customs. In letters, Henry Sienkiewicz leads all others in the place that he made for himself in the hearts of his countrymen in all three sections of Poland.

Where are the Poles in the United States? They have come chiefly as unskilled workers and have gone into the steel mills, the shops, and the mines, where they have performed heavy, dangerous tasks and borne opprobrious names patiently. They are employed in factories, slaughter houses, and on farms. They began to migrate after the Polish insurrection of 1863 and came in increasing numbers until the World War broke out when their annual immigration amounted to about 150,000 individuals.

Polish immigrants have attained high rank in art, particularly in music. In this group, perhaps the best known is Josef Hofmann.

In the World War, over 200,000 Poles served in the American Expeditionary Forces. Although the Polish immigrants constituted only four per cent of our population, they suffered nearly ten per cent of the casualties in the American armies, a fact which shows that they succeeded well in getting into the battle lines. But thus far, the United States has been unappreciative of the potentialities of Polish immigrants.

The Russian immigrant comes from Northern Russia, or Great Russia, the capital of which has been, successively, Moscow and Petrograd. The great Russian possesses two strong but anomalous characteristics. He is noted for his laborious patience, great tenacity, and enduring strength. Climatic selection has developed in him a strong physique and the correlative mental traits of patience and tenacity of purpose. On the other hand, the Russian manifests a fatalistic attitude which rests upon an underlying spiritual faith and finds satisfying solace in the belief that "God wills it," whenever the defeats of life overwhelm the individual.

There are various types of Russians in the United States. (1) The Russian Jew who of course is not Russian except as he has come from Russia. (2) The Great Russian proper has not migrated in large numbers. He has furnished many artists, chiefly in music. Some of his numbers have been radicals in political and industrial matters. (3) A third group is composed of the representatives of various religious sects from the Caucasian regions. These sects had been viciously persecuted in Russia under the Czars, partly for their religious independence and partly because they were opposed to militarism. After the Russo-

Japanese War in 1904-1905, the sectarian migration to Canada and the United States began. The leading sects in our country are the Molokans, Dukhobors, and Subotniks. The latter are Judaized Russians.

These Russian sectarians have been greatly disappointed in the United States. They have felt keenly the disintegrating effects of American life upon the family as a social institution. Their family life is patriarchal. When the children slip out from parental control and develop suddenly into pert and disobedient young Americans, the reactions of the parents toward the United States are unfavorable.

As a class Russian immigrants have many difficulties in understanding American life. It is especially difficult for the Russian to adjust himself to our hurrying, restless attitudes. His first reaction has been described as follows:

"Oh, I cannot live here, I am always late! Everybody runs ahead! The crowd on the street is so restless! Why are they hurrying so?"[3]

And his ultimate conclusion, if he thinks through the problem is "that all the work of humanity should not be a hurried job, undertaken for money, but a free, joyous, and thoughtfully slow Creation."

The Ukrainians, or Little Russians, differ materially from the Great Russians. They are the Southerners of the Russian peoples. They are "children of a more genial climate," less active and enterprising, more imaginative and less co-operative than the Great Russians. The Little Russians, contrary to the implications of their name, are slightly taller than the Great

[3]M. Moravsky, "The Greenhorn in America," *Atlantic Mon.*, Vol. 122:663.

Russians. Among their ancestors were the Cossacks — the famous cavalry of the Czar — who were the Kazaks, or riders, or robbers, of the Middle Ages, with a communistic and semi-military life. From the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, the Ukrainians maintained an independent kingdom. Then they fell under the rule of the Poles and Lithuanians, and of the Great Russians. After the fall of the Kerensky régime in November, 1917, Ukraine became established as a republic.

The Ukrainians in Hungary were nicknamed Ruthenians, because of their ruddy complexions. It is from Hungary that nearly 30,000 Ukrainians, or Ruthenians, were coming annually in the years preceding 1914. They were fleeing from oppression to the land of liberty, where like many other Slavs they have become industrial servants in mines and mills, without enjoying the larger freedom which they sought.

In the United States the largest Ukrainian colonies are in New York City, Scranton, Harrisburg, and Pittsburg. In Pennsylvania they have been successful in establishing co-operative stores. They are fond of their athletic societies, of music, and possess a melodious language.

The Czechs, known in the United States popularly as Bohemians and Moravians, constitute the intellectual vanguard of the Slavic race. The Bohemians are the leaders, the Moravians the middle group, while the Slovaks represent a low state of economic development.

Bohemia, a diamond-shaped province, was "the brightest jewel in the Austrian crown," because of its capable and developed people. Surrounded on three

sides by Germany, Bohemia has been subject to German infiltration and influence. Toward the close of the nineteenth century a remarkable change of attitude occurred in Bohemia toward Germany. Widespread currents of unfavorable reaction had set in by 1900 against Germany. For example, in the University of Prague the use of the German language had given away to an extensive use of the Czech language.

The Bohemians have long been noted for their ideals of liberty. They objected strongly to Austrian autocracy. What Washington is to the United States, Luther to Germany, Tolstoi to Russia, and Garibaldi to Italy, John Hus is to Bohemia. Hus sacrificed his life for his convictions concerning liberty, long before the days of any of the other Reformation leaders. He was the pioneer among Reformation heroes. To the Bohemians, he is not known as a Protestant reformer, but as a heroic exponent of civil and political freedom. In the World War the Czechs had four armies fighting against Germany and Austria-Hungary. At the close of the War one of the Czechoslovak armies was fighting for the cause of the Allies in far away Siberia.

Bohemians are nominally Catholics. Upon arrival in the United States, they become the least faithful of the adherents of the Church of Rome. They swing to the extreme, as an expression of their desire for liberty; they form free-thinking societies and profess semi-atheistic principles. Socialism is strong among them here, as it is in Bohemia, where several years ago the movement had reached proportions which enabled it to support two antagonistic parties, the national and international. In the new Czechoslovak republic, the socialists exercise a strong influence.

The artistic ability of the Bohemian is noticeable. The race receives too little attention in this connection, for it has produced a composer of first rank, Dvorak; a soprano of the purest type, Emmy Destinn; and a violinist of world fame, Kubelik. How many Dvoraks, Destinns, and Kubeliks are lost to the United States and the world because we allow the Bohemian's abilities to go unnoticed cannot be estimated.

The largest colony of Bohemians in our country is in Chicago. Many Bohemians have gone into the skilled trades. Large numbers follow agricultural pursuits in the Eastern states, the Middle West, and elsewhere, such as Texas. Wherever the Bohemians are located, the Sokol, an organization for athletic and fraternal purposes, may usually be found.

The Moravians who live in the province that borders Bohemia on the east are closely similar to the Bohemians but not as highly developed. Still further to the east in former Hungary lies Slovakland where the Slovaks occupy the meager hill country. The natural resources have been scant and the political pressure by the Hungarians has been rigorous. It was at the beginning of the present century that the Slovaks learned of the possibilities of coming to the United States. A low economic status and Hungarian restrictive measures held the movement in check.

Under the leadership of Thomas Masaryk, the first president, the Czechoslovak republic made a splendid beginning. The Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, and Silesians united under a free constitution and a liberal government. Many Czechoslovaks in the United States have returned to the home country, although those who have lived in this country for some time

are remaining. They are literate, quick to learn, and willing to become citizens.

The Jugo-Slavs include the Croatians, Slovenians, Slavonians, Dalmatians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Montenegrins, and Serbians. The different names indicate territorial rather than racial divisions. They were formerly referred to as Serbo-Croatians.

Among the best specimens of physical manhood that have come to the United States in the past fifty years are many of the Jugo-Slav immigrants. The Dalmatians, for example, are often six feet in height, well-built, and possessed of endurance.

The Jugo-Slavs profess various religious faiths, including the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Mohammedan. The religious divisions explain in part the sub-group feuds which exist among the Jugo-Slavs in the homeland and even in the United States. Superstition abounds. Wife-beating is not uncommon. The women are engaged continually for the best part of their lives in bearing or nursing children. Rugged strength and crude morality are the outstanding characteristics.

In the United States, the chief settlements of the Croatians are in and about Pittsburg, Cleveland, and Chicago, and in milling and similar industrial centers. They are also found on the Pacific Coast in the fruit and fish industries, and in the South in the lumber mills. The leading Slovenian center is Cleveland. Many Slovenians are employed in the steel and coal industries of Pennsylvania. Others are in the copper and iron mines of Michigan and Minnesota. The Servians in the United States have come from Austria-Hungary rather than from Servia. They have fur-

nished many skilled workers in the trades; others are mine laborers. As a rule, the Jugo-Slavs are different from Americans in many respects. They are immensely interested in the struggles of the republic of Jugo-Slavia. A large amount of sympathetic Americanization work is needed in order to develop in the Jugo-Slavs a proper understanding of our country and its ideals.

The Magyars, Mongolian in origin, live on an island as it were, surrounded by a sea of Slavs. They number about 10,000,000 and are described as "astute politicians and dashing military leaders," but careless in business as the Slavs who surround them.[4] The Jews, on the other hand, have acquired the positions of business control. At the time that the Hungarian Magyars were imposing their political leadership and their language upon the subject races, they in turn had been slowly adopting the social customs and manners of the Slavs. They are less stolid and more emotional than the Slavs. Their best known leader and exponent of democracy was Louis Kossuth.

The chief settlement of the Magyars in the United States is in New York City, where they are tradespeople, mechanics, and laborers. The Magyars are also in the coal mines and steel mills. They are in the rural districts of New York, Connecticut, Ohio, and other states. The Magyar immigrants are largely the peasant Magyars who have fled from the oppression of the ruling Magyar classes.

The Lithuanians, belonging to the Aryan stock, have

[4]J. R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 81; cf. Reports of the Immigration Commission, V:94ff.

lived for centuries north of Russian Poland in the territory bordering on the Baltic Sea. Courland is their chief city. Their political history became at one time a part of the history of Poland through intermarriage of the royal houses. Racially, however, the Lithuanians and Poles are different. The Lithuanians have suffered from Russian tyranny. In 1864, they were forbidden to publish anything except in Russian, a foreign language to them, with the result that they were "reduced to silence." By virtue of living in a region partly covered by forests and swamps, they have been able to maintain their ancestral customs and racial traits.

The Lithuanians have migrated to the United States to the extent of 750,000, since 1885. They are in mining, particularly in Pennsylvania and Illinois. Spring Valley, Illinois, contains a large Lithuanian settlement. There are many Lithuanians in Chicago and New York City.

The Letts are closely related to the Lithuanians. They are the people of Lettonia, which borders Lithuania on the north. Perhaps the chief difference between the Letts and the Lithuanians is that the former are dominated by Protestant influences, while the latter are Roman Catholics. The best known colony of Letts in our country is located in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

The Finns, another of our important immigrant groups, are historically Mongolian. Centering at Helsingfors, they have served as a buffer between Russia and Sweden. Wrested from Sweden in 1809 by Russia, governed by Russia in a somewhat democratic manner during the nineteenth century, the Finns in

1901 suddenly found themselves stripped of all self-government privileges. The Russian language was substituted for the Finnish and Swedish languages. The Finnish army was disbanded and its members scattered throughout the Russian army divisions. With this imposition of autocratic measures, the Finns began to migrate, many coming to the United States. In 1917, they declared their independence of Russia. The Finns are democratically inclined. Equal suffrage was established many decades ago in Finnland. Socialism has been widely adopted. Finnland passed a "dry law" in 1905, but was overruled by the Czar, the tool of the liquor interests.

In the United States the Finns are following agricultural, lumber, and mining pursuits. Their chief settlements extend from Eastern Michigan to the Dakotas.

The Rumanians are descendants of Roman soldiers who were stationed on the Danube. They are more temperamental than the Slav, whose customs they have acquired. The Rumanians in our country have not come primarily from Rumania, but from Eastern Hungary where they have suffered from Magyar oppression. The Rumanian immigrants are chiefly unmarried men. They are unskilled and move about considerably, being employed in steel mills and other manufacturing plants. Cleveland, Dayton, and Pittsburg are the leading Rumanian centers.

The Bulgarians, although of Mongolian stock, likewise have become Slavic in type and customs. Several thousands of the ancient and quaint race of Albanians have migrated to the United States following the Balkan Wars in 1911-1912. The Albanian immigrants

have come without families and have been employed as unskilled laborers.

The Slav, in conclusion, has aptly been described as humanity in the rough. This generalization, like others concerning the Slav immigrants, does not apply to the Czechs, and the advanced members of the other Slavic branches. The Slavic immigrant comes to the United States from one of the youngest races politically in Europe. He has scorned business activities as being undignified. He is unaccustomed to and unconvinced by Western ideas and appliances. He has struggled long, blindly, and with little encouragement toward the light of political freedom and industrial democracy.

In the United States, we know the Slav in the mass and far from his best. He learns of America's ways, oftentimes and first, through the foreman's curses and the populace's epithets. He resents being called a "Hunkie," and we unfortunately do not understand that the use of such a term hinders the Americanization process. Between Slavism in America and Americanism at its best is a broad, deep chasm which must be bridged by Americanization efforts.

PROBLEMS

1. What are the leading Slavic races?
2. Which Slavic race has sent the largest numbers of emigrants to the United States?
3. What is the underlying reason why Poland lost her position of political prominence in the eighteenth century?

4. If the Poles are strong exponents of liberty, how do you account for the fact that in the eighteenth century the Polish masses were being oppressed by Polish nobles?
5. Who are the leading Polish musicians?
6. To what Pole was it given "to alter the entire view of all the world for all mankind"?
7. Who has been Poland's best modern interpreter to the world?
8. Who is the best known Polish immigrant to the United States?
9. What is the leading trait of the Great Russian?
10. Distinguish between Great Russians and Little Russians.
11. Distinguish between Ukrainians and Ruthenians.
12. Distinguish between Czechs and Bohemians.
13. Who is the leading Bohemian violinist? Composer? Soprano? Educator?
14. What are the chief Jugo-Slav groups?
15. Who are the Magyars?
16. Who has been the leading Magyar exponent of freedom?
17. How do you account for the fact that Finnland adopted woman suffrage long before the United States did?
18. What is meant by pan-Slavism?

Chapter XIV

THE HEBREW IMMIGRANT

Of the 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 Hebrews in the world, approximately 3,000,000 live in the United States, 2,000,000 within the boundaries of former Austria-Hungary, and 5,000,000 within the former Russian empire. The Hebrew population of New York City may be conservatively estimated at 1,000,000, the largest congregation of Jews in one place in the world. New York City has a Jewish population equal to that of ten Palestines. When one person of every five in New York City's population of five million is a Jew, and the race is prominently represented in every community of the United States, it becomes necessary for Americans to study the history of the race, the reactions of the Jew to American life, and his potential genius.

Heber, or Eber, is a term which signifies the farther bank of a river. The Hebrews were named perhaps from the fact that they came from the farther bank of the Euphrates. The popular designation, Jew, is derived from the Hebrew word Jehudah, or Judah, son of Jacob. The name has had a definite religious significance. In this chapter the terms, Hebrew and Jew, will be used interchangeably. The Hebrew language is read and written by many but it is rarely spoken. Yiddish is the vehicle of conversation. It is a dialect which is sixteenth century German in its elements, with an admixture of the language of the country from

which the given group of Jewish people come. Thus, among "Russian Jews," Yiddish is perhaps 60 per cent German of the sixteenth century and 40 per cent Polish or Russian. It is a dialect with few characteristics of a language.

The Hebrews have always been a migrating people. They came originally from Mesopotamia and settled for a time in Palestine. Into Egypt they moved, and back again into Palestine under the leadership of their "exalted father," Abram. Three world religions trace their origins to Abraham, father of a multitude, as Abram came to be known, namely, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism. Thus, the name of Abraham is known and honored today more extensively even than that of Christ.

Into Egypt a second time, the race migrated. This time, Moses, the world's first great labor leader, appeared to champion the cause of his people who had become industrial slaves and to direct them back to Palestine. In Palestine their adopted home, the Hebrews manifested a marked intellectuality, a profound spirituality which culminated in Christianity, and an ethical code which has affected and molded Western civilization. Along with these constructive tendencies, there arose an excessive individualism which laid the nation open to internal dissension, foreign invasion, and conquest. The destruction of Jerusalem did not occur, however, until Christianity had been founded and a new group of forces set in motion which have won the allegiance of Europe and America.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Jews began to migrate anew. In the Middle Ages, we find them wandering throughout Europe, and congre-

gating in Frankfort in larger numbers than elsewhere in the West.

Never having been agriculturalists, but possessing a keenness of perception born of migration, the Jews seized the opportunities unintentionally thrown open to them by the Catholic Church when it forbade the taking of usury, or interest in the current sense of the term, to members of the church. Outside the church, the Jews alone had the ability to develop the business of money-lending. Further, under the reign of feudalism the Jews had no rights except such as they might secure by bribing the feudal lords with money. Consequently and willingly, the feudal autocrats used the Jews as sponges to draw large sums of money from the already over-taxed masses.

In order to get the money to pay the necessary bribes, the Jews themselves engaged in sharp practices and extortions. Driven to the limits of financial stress by the domineering lords, the Jews resorted to all types of financial trickiness in their dealings with the peasantry. In their ignorance, the people laid the blame for their oppressive conditions upon the Jews. But today, it is noteworthy, when modern Jews grow up in an environment of fair play, they are no more apt to acquire questionable financial practices than the average American. In every community of size in the United States there are usually Jews who have become trusted community members.

With the awakening of the people in Europe during the Renaissance, and with the overthrow of feudal kings, the Jews lost their means of buying self-protection. They were without rights. They were dependent on the mercy of peoples who were without mercy.

They became the victims of the prejudices of the masses. Consequently, the people expelled the Jewish race from various lands, beginning in England in 1290. The Jews were expelled in 1390 from France, and in 1493 and 1495 from Spain and Portugal.

In Teutonic Europe, however, political confusion obtained, feudal sovereigns remained in control, and the Jews continued to secure protection. Poland, in her anxiety to increase her population, invited the exiled Jews thither. As a result, the Jews congregated in the Germanic and Polish regions. When Poland was subdivided in the closing years of the eighteenth century, it contained the largest Jewish population of the world.

Then capitalism rose. With the development of business enterprise and the coming of the capitalistic régime, colossal opportunities opened, which the Jews with their centuries of financial training were quick to appreciate and to seize. By capitalism the Jew was freed. In 1791, he was emancipated in France; in 1849 and 1858, in England; in 1860 and 1870, in Italy.

In Russian Poland, the lot of the Jew has been especially pitiful. He has tried to eke out an existence, while being crushed between the fiendish persecutions of the state and the church above him, and the infuriated and ignorant Polish or Russian peasants beneath. He has been compelled to live in the Pale of Settlement — 25 specific provinces out of 89 in Russia. Then in 1882, he was practically driven from the rural districts and villages within the Pale, and obliged to huddle in certain sections of the cities, or to live in cages within a cage.

In the name of Christianity in Russia, the Jews during a pogrom have suffered reckless destruction of property and have seen their children and aged parents murdered cruelly before their helpless eyes. The very name of Christian, therefore, causes Russian Jewish immigrants to shudder. When they arrive in the United States, their loyalty to Judaism is pronounced. They consider their religion the oldest of all widely accepted religions and are likely to feel insulted when attempts are made to convert them to a newer religion and especially to one in the name of which they have been persecuted — Christianity. To revile Judaism, they remind us, is to strike disrespectfully at the parent of Christianity.

Unfortunately, the effect of the United States upon many Jews is that of de-Judaizing them without Christianizing them. "My father prays every day; I pray once a week; and my son never prays," is the statement of a Boston Jew, which illustrates the effect of the United States upon the Jew's attitude toward religion. "You don't need to worry," said the leader of a group of Jewish lads to their director who came from the Young Men's Christian Association, and who was afraid that the boys might think that he would try to win them to accept Christianity, "we are all socialists." For many Jews, the conditions in the United States have thrown their Jewish faith into disrepute without giving them an adequate religious substitute. As a result many have turned to intellectual socialism.

Another important characteristic of the Jewish immigrant is his intellectual tendency. This Hebrew trait has had a long history. Its origin is found in the patriarchal days of the Old Testament when special at-

tention to the education of the children in the home had become an established custom. The migrations of the Jew from country to country have sharpened his wits and stimulated his intellect. His experiences under autocratic and oppressive rule and with the exigencies of poverty in ghettoes have driven him to a widespread interest in and acceptance of socialism. When given an opportunity, his mental development is rapid. He studies and digests the "heavyweights" in economics and sociology rapaciously. He furnishes scholars in all branches of learning.

The Jewish immigrant comes from a race which has the concept of "social progress through righteousness," a concept derived from the Old Testament. Through the Old Testament, rightly called a Jewish institution, the Jew has the honor of determining the fundamental nature of Western European civilization and hence of American life. If the New Testament teachings, which are an outgrowth of Old Testament principles, be added to the latter, we may refer to the Hebrews as being the leading single force in determining European and American progress. At any rate, we may consider the Bible as "the noblest product of Hebraic spirit." The Jewish immigrant is reachable through the theocracy and the humanitarianism of the Bible, or at least of the Old Testament.

The Jewish immigrant exhibits a remarkable physical vitality and endurance. The birth-rate is high, and the death-rate is surprisingly low, even in squalid tenement districts. His length of life is much greater than that of the average American. His longevity is due, first, to the operation of the law of biological survival.

Only those individuals with marked endurance have been able to survive the dangers of death-dealing environments; the race has descended from those who have stood the endurance test imposed by rigorous living conditions. The self-control of the Hebrew, in the second place, explains his longevity. Temperance and sobriety are correlative racial traits. His sanitary meat inspection and other hygienic customs, in the third place, are fundamental factors. A fourth element is found in his sound home life. The interest of the parents in the care and training of the children gives them a favorable start in life. The United States needs to go to school to the Jewish immigrant and make use of his methods of building up deep family affections, loyalty, and stability.

The Jewish immigrant shows a special interest in problems of social amelioration. Modern criminology was founded by Lombroso and scientific socialism by Marx. In the United States the Jews have developed the best charity organizations. The Jew comes from a race that has long been noted for its humanitarian activities as well as ideas. Abraham showed a highly socialized spirit in his dealings with Lot. Moses led the first labor strike (of slaves!) in the world. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and other Hebrew prophets cried out ably and bravely against social injustice. Seven out of the ten commandments are rules of social conduct. The Founder of Christianity made the love of man a test of one's love of God.

The orthodox Jews plan to re-establish themselves in Palestine when the promised Messiah comes. The national Zionists possess political aspirations and ex-

pect to re-establish the Jewish nation on a permanent basis. The socialist Zionists look forward to the creation of a socialist state in Palestine.

The Jew in the United States has gone to and stayed in the cities. He has gone primarily into the trades. For centuries the Jew practically controlled the garment industry in Russia; in the Ghetto in Rome a century ago 75 per cent of the Jews were tailors. This racial habit has led the Jew into the garment trade in the United States and especially in New York City where he holds a practical monopoly of the manufacture of men's clothing. From the trades the Jew moves up into the business world, and particularly into the world of finance.

The Jewish immigrant is often literary. He makes a good journalist. Many of the best books upon immigration have been written by Jewish immigrants, notably the books by E. A. Steiner, Mary Antin, M. E. Ravage. As a labor leader the Jew is strong because of his intellectual acumen. In this field he is often radical, because of his keen sense of injustice. In jurisprudence in the United States a nationally honored name is that of Louis Brandeis.

The Jew in the United States is what "centuries of persecution and oppression" have made him. He commonly begins his experiences as an immigrant in a ghetto, and then struggles out into success and recognition. Though frequently defeated, he keeps on silently. He rarely turns back. Though generally suffering, he keeps on steadfastly. Though vanquished from time to time, he gathers up his scattered forces and pushes on. Though defeated again and again he

has had the unique distinction of seeing his conquerors, proud kingdoms and mighty empires, crumble into humble dust. He ever rises with eternal suffering and untiring patience to confront his contemporaries with his hitherto insoluble problems.[1]

In undertaking Americanization work among the Jews, many Americans understand nothing of the Jewish immigrant's history. They are totally unacquainted with his problems, viewpoints, and attitudes. They do not perceive him as an individual struggling for political liberty, economic opportunity, and intellectual freedom, but who in the meantime is losing his religion which has kept him active, persecuted, and racially protected. This loss may mean his racial disintegration. Americanization as related to the Jew is a co-operative process in which American and Jew must work together on the basis of thorough understanding and good will.

PROBLEMS

1. Distinguish between the terms, Hebrew and Jew.
2. What special difficulty is experienced by a person who speaks Yiddish when he undertakes to learn English?
3. Why is there such a large Jewish population in Poland?
4. What causes a pogrom?

[1]Adapted from a quotation from L. E. Van Norman, *Poland*, pp. 263, 264.

5. Why is New York City the largest center of Jewish population in the world?
6. Why are the Jews not agriculturalists?
7. Why are the Jews not coal miners?
8. Why is the Jewish immigrant sometimes called a shoestring capitalist?
9. What is your attitude toward a college fraternity which debars Jewish students from membership?
10. Why does the Jew tend to lose his religion in the United States?
11. Why is it that the Jews do not carry out missionary enterprises?
12. Who are the best known Jewish Americans?
13. What is Zionism?
14. In what constructive ways do the Jews contribute to Americansm?

Chapter XV

THE ASIATIC IMMIGRANT

The representatives of five Asiatic races have migrated to the United States. From Western Asia, the Syrians and Armenians have come; from Southern Asia, the Hindus; and from Eastern Asia, the Chinese and the Japanese.

The Syrian immigrant is a relative of the Hebrew. He also is descended from the Semitic branch of the Caucasian peoples. He migrates chiefly from the Mt. Lebanon region. His mother tongue is Arabic.

Syrian migration to the United States was caused in part by the missionaries in Syria, many of whom have been Presbyterian. This migration was also stimulated by the Centennial Exposition in 1876 when olive wood and other carved articles were introduced to the curio-fascinated American public.

Upon arrival in this country, the Syrian immigrant has usually become a peddler, and later, has set up a small store. Although the largest number of Syrians in the United States are in New York City, others are found in nearly all parts of the country. They have followed trade and commerce extensively. They are individualistic. They belong to the Christian faith. Their thirst for knowledge has been noted by many observers. They possess the so-called Oriental memory. Their intelligence is indicated by the fact that recently a few hundred thousand Syrians in the United

States were supporting several Arabic newspapers and magazines.

The Armenian immigrant traces his ancestry to a primitive branch of the Aryan stock. For his form of Christianity, he claims a greater age than that of the Church of Rome. He has suffered indescribable persecutions because of his loyalty to Christian beliefs. As in the case of the Syrian and the Hebrew, the horrors of persecution have cut deep into his nature, and hence, he is suspicious of strangers until their trustworthiness has been established.

The Armenian at home has not had a government of his own for 500 years. He has been called the Anglo-Saxon of Eastern Turkey. He deserves considerable credit for maintaining his civilization under Turkish oppression. Despite massacres, his spirit has held strong.

The first Armenian immigrant to the United States was "Martin, the Armenian," who was a member of the Jamestown colony in Virginia as early as 1619. But the real Armenian immigration began after the massacres in Armenia in 1894. The encouragement from American missionaries was the chief force which directed Armenian migration to the United States.

Armenian immigrants are nearly all refugees from vicious and bitter persecution. A large percentage are skilled workers, e. g., shoe makers, tailors, carpenters. Many are day laborers. Others are tradesmen. There are many Armenians in the Oriental rug business, in which they have been severely criticized for unfair business practices and unreliability. This criticism is explained by the fact that to the Armenian the selling

price depends not so much on what an article originally cost the merchant, but more upon its evident value to and the purchasing ability of the customer.

The largest Armenian colonies in this country are in New York City, Fresno (California), Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. Armenian immigrants usually belong to the Apostolic or Presbyterian denominations. Many show religious indifference. The men greatly outnumber the women. They sometimes negotiate through the relatives or parents of girls in Armenia for these girls as brides. The Armenian immigrant possesses physical endurance, mental steadfastness, and a live imagination.

The East Indian, or Hindu, began to migrate to the United States about 1900. Many Hindus migrated first to British Columbia and then came down the Pacific Coast. By 1906, the annual figures exceeded 1000. The small numbers were more than offset by the strange appearance, the peculiar customs, and the very low standard of living. The Hindus were so different from us, and the laborers who came were on such a manifestly lower plane of living that assimilation seemed impossible.

An unusually strict interpretation of our immigration laws was made. By virtue of the low industrial status of the Hindus and of the obvious difficulties which they experienced in obtaining steady employment, it appeared that many would soon need to receive public aid, especially if the immigration should become extensive. It was decided that the Hindu immigrants come within the scope of the clause. liable to become a public charge, and nearly all were debarred. Consequently, Hindu immigration practically ceased.

When the Hindu has applied for citizenship, the courts have disagreed over the question of racial origin. Many East Indians are of Caucasian lineage, and admissible; others are of Mongolian descent, and apparently ineligible to citizenship. The question of eligibility to citizenship needs to be clarified and put upon the plane of individual merit and worth, rather than left upon the uncertain and accidental grounds of racial origin in prehistoric days.

In the immigration act of February 5, 1917, a "barred zone" provision was included. According to this regulation, natives excepting the members of exempt classes from the barred zone shall not be admitted to the United States. The barred zone includes India. The exempt classes are government officials, travelers, and certain professional classes, so that the prohibitory regulations apply chiefly to the unskilled and skilled classes. The merits and de-merits of the barred zone law will be discussed in a later chapter.

The Chinese first migrated to the United States about 1849, attracted by the prospects of work in the gold fields. Many thousands were imported by American mine-owners and other employers. They were employed in large numbers in railroad construction, e. g., in building the western end of the first transcontinental railroad, which was completed in 1869. The high tide was in 1882, when 39,000 Chinese came. At that time, about 130,000 Chinese were in the United States.

By 1882, however, a strong aversion to the Chinese had developed. They were charged with working for such low wages that Americans with their higher standard of living could not compete with them. Or-

ganized labor opposed them, because their presence in industry hindered the rise of or even lowered prevailing standards of living. They came without families and hence tended to degenerate. Immorality and gambling flourished. They returned to their own country after accumulating small sums of money; hence, they had no special interest in the United States except to earn money. They were exceedingly slow in being assimilated, maintaining their language, religion, and other Chinese customs with tenacity. Their intermarriage with Americans was not feasible. There was danger that vast hordes would come.

Gradually, the anti-Chinese activities increased. The importation of Chinese coolie labor was forbidden in 1879 by Congress, but President Hayes vetoed the measure because it was in violation of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. According to the terms of this treaty, the right of immigration was declared to be an inherent one, and free migration of Chinese to the United States was provided.

The anti-Chinese sentiment grew strong on the Pacific Coast and all forms of lying were resorted to in order to stir up people against Chinese immigrants. A commission was sent to China in 1880, which negotiated a new treaty providing for the limitation of Chinese migration to the United States. In 1882, the importation of Chinese labor, skilled and unskilled, was prohibited for a period of ten years. In 1892, this act was continued for ten years longer; in 1902 it was extended indefinitely. Further, in 1882, the Chinese on the basis of race alone were declared ineligible for citizenship.

According to the census of 1910, there were 71,000 Chinese in the United States as compared with 89,000 in 1900. The decrease is marked. In railroad maintenance work, the Chinese have been displaced by the Japanese, Mexicans, Italians. In agriculture, they have given away before the more aggressively active Japanese. There are still many Chinese located in towns and cities, who are conducting small stores and laundries.

Is the Chinese problem in the United States settled? The superficial and careless person answers, yes. He is probably correct as long as China remains weak as a nation. But recent events have cast a shadow upon our Americansm. The same class of people who demanded the exclusion of Chinese labor on the Pacific Coast a few years ago, were in 1918 and in 1920 when under stress of a shortage of labor, asking that Chinese laborers be admitted for stipulated periods of time, or so long as they have economic value to us. A disdainful attitude for the Chinese when they are not needed industrially and a cordial invitation when they are an economic asset puts the nation in a wrong light from the standpoint of China, and lends color to the charge that the United States is commercialized.

Further, when China becomes a powerful nation among the peoples of the globe, she will no longer acquiesce in being singled out as a nation whose citizens, because they bear the name of Chinese, are debarred. No matter how worthy a Chinese laborer may be — skilled, Christian, gentlemanly — he is excluded from entry and from citizenship. But another laborer with fewer qualifications, for example, from

Mohammedan Turkey, would be admitted. We cannot afford to allow our Americanism to fall below our professions of just and friendly treatment to all reputable nations and races. Least of all, should China, a sister republic, be singled out in this way — during a time when she is trying to educate her people to a recognition of the superiority of democracies over autocracies.

We cannot afford, it is true, to be overrun with Chinese immigrants, and especially of the unskilled laboring group. We can admit only that number from any race which can be assimilated within a reasonable time. Let the test for admission be high and on the basis of individual fitness to become American citizens, and then treat the representatives of all people alike and democratically. The standards for admission may be placed high enough so that we could not be flooded by undesirable immigrants. But the exclusion of the Chinese from the United States on the adventitious fact of race, deliberately naming them, in view of present ethnological opinion, is hardly fair, or truly American.

The Japanese represent a mixed race that is scarcely more than fifty years removed from feudalism. The four main islands of Japan are mountainous and volcanic. Of the total area only 25 per cent is open to cultivation. This cultivable territory, one-fourth the size of California, is feeding a population of more than 50,000,000 people. Several crops must be raised annually upon the same land; and woman labor, a seven-day labor week, and intensive agriculture must prevail in order to meet the enormous demands for food.

Japan possesses few natural resources. Her supply

of iron, coal, and oil is almost nil. "Japan is a land without a surplus of anything except raw silk and brains." In addition to pottery making, cotton spinning has been devoloped, but even the raw materials for cotton spinning must be imported. Agriculture has been an exalted occupation while commerce and trading have been treated with contempt — especially by the Samurai, the former military leaders of Japan. Commerce, bargaining, business, prevarication, and lying were considered as synonymous terms. To tradesmen it was honorable to lie in business since business was a low grade of activity. The merchants who lied most cleverly succeeded best. It is thus easy to understand how Japanese immigrants in America in their business agreements have not always been trustworthy. But agriculture was free from "the sordid phases of commerce." Under the former policy of exclusion, Japan was compelled to become self-sufficient. She faced famine unless the fields were cultivated assiduously; agriculture thus became a highly respected occupation.

Upon arrival on our Pacific Coast, with the prevalence of its extensive farming and with its valuable lands not intensively utilized, the Japanese immigrant immediately makes use of the opportunities which he finds. He naturally employs his home customs, namely, intensive farming, woman labor, long hours, a seven-day labor week. Because of these methods and of having a living standard that is lower than ours, the Japanese are able to drive out all competitors. Moreover, they naturally enough write to their relatives and friends of the agricultural opportunities in the

United States. The desire to come hither becomes strong on the part of Japanese farmers.

The modern Japanese immigration began about 1896. The annual figures reached 100 in 1886, 1000 in 1891, and 10,000 in 1910, at which time there were about 72,000 Japanese in the country. Of this number, 42,000 were in California. The immigration in recent years has averaged about 10,000, but from this the annual emigration figures of about 7,000 need to be subtracted in order that a correct idea may be secured of the increase in Japanese immigration. Specifically, according to the report of the commissioner general of immigration in 1919, 14,900 Japanese immigrated and 11,200 emigrated leaving a net gain of 3,700. A large percentage of the Japanese in the United States are engaged in farming, truck-gardening, domestic service, small businesses, canning fruits, and railroad maintenance. They are noted for their frugality and industry.

According to the report of the Federal Immigration Commission, the Japanese have shown considerable capacity for adopting American customs. They make earnest efforts to learn English, and they rank well as students. They are kindly and polite. They have made definite efforts looking toward Americanization.

The influx of picture brides has received unscientific attention. These brides are a part of a custom which is normal in Japan and in many other countries. But public opinion in the United States reached such a heat against the custom that the Japanese Government in 1920 agreed to stop the immigration of picture brides to our country. This change means, among other

things, that the desire of the Japanese in the United States to live under the normal conditions of family life will become increasingly difficult.

The birth-rate of Japanese children in the United States has been increasing. In certain small localities in California the Japanese birth-rate exceeds the Caucasian. A better distribution and assimilation program is greatly needed. Japanese children, however, assimilate readily. As a rule they are better disciplined and show more parental respect than American children. Under favorable conditions they become loyal to the Stars and Stripes.

The dislike for the Japanese assumed concrete form in 1906 when the San Francisco school board attempted to segregate the Japanese school children. Shortly afterward, the prejudice against the Japanese showed itself in the boycott of the Japanese restaurants in San Francisco. Recognizing the opposition to the Japanese on the part of California, the Federal Government made an arrangement with Japan known as the gentleman's agreement. According to this plan, Japan agreed to issue passports only to such residents in this country, the United States, as were returning here, or were parents, wives, or children of residents of this country, or had already secured a right to agricultural land. Travelers, officials, merchants, teachers, and students are also permitted to enter. Then there are the wives and picture brides who have been admitted. These women are laborers and potential mothers. The gentleman's agreement has been faithfully kept by the Japanese Government, which wishes the Japanese to migrate, not to the United States, but westward to the mainland of Asia. Governmental influence in Japan

has been thrown against immigration to the United States.

In the legislature of the State of California in 1913, more than thirty bills were introduced, which were directed against the Japanese. The chief of these bills was the one which rigidly restricted the holding of lands, through either purchase or lease by aliens ineligible to citizenship. Without mentioning the Japanese by name, the bill affected them chiefly. Presiden Wilson through a personal visit of his Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, to California asked the legislature to delay action until the Federal Government would have time to adjust the difficulties by negotiating with Japan.

But Governor Johnson replied and the legislature agreed that "an emergency exists which we would be blind if we did not see." Accordingly the bill was re-shaped and passed. The question may be raised, Did an emergency exist? A study of the conditions in California at the time legislative action was taken fails to show the existence of an emergency so dangerous that it had to be met before the Federal Government could arrange a solution with Japan upon the basis of international justice and the welfare of California and the nation.

Japan protested against the anti-Japanese land law because the discrimination against the Japanese violated the spirit of the gentleman's agreement of 1907. Our government replied that in this matter it had no jurisdiction. One of the states of the Union had passed a law offending another nation and the Federal Government was helpless. "The most important piece of

legislation waiting to be done in this country," says James A. B. Scherer, "is the enactment of a law or laws, by constitutional enactment if necessary, that will put international affairs in the hands of the nation."

There have been many charges that the Japanese have violated the alien land law. There are established instances of violation, of false certification of names, of buying land in the name of children, but these cases do not seem to be as numerous as the infractions of laws against forming trusts or profiteering by Americans. The clause forbidding the Japanese to lease land for more than three years at a time has had unfortunate effects in some particulars. It has compelled the Japanese to raise only crops which will grow quickly and mature ripidly, such as vegetables and small fruits. This kind of produce perishes soon after being gathered for the market. Hence, a noticeable effect of the alien land law has been to cause the Japanese to colonize around cities where a ready market always exists. Another unfavorable effect of the three-year-lease clause is that the Japanese farmer is encouraged during the third year of the contract to get as much from the soil as possible without keeping up the quality of the soil.

The alien land law has other objectionable features, but its chief weakness is that it is based on an undemocratic naturalization law. It does not apply to all aliens alike. It is racially discriminatory. It creates special problems of its own.

The Japanese situation in the United States also involves a change in our naturalization laws. We base citizenship qualifications partially upon the unscientific

element of color. Moreover, we apply the color test unscientifically, for in theory we admit the color extremes, white and black, to citizenship, and exclude the intermediate elements. We now know that every race is a combination of several races and that it is impossible to state where one race ends and another begins. The same principle is true when applied to color. A better test for admission to citizenship is that of individual ability, achievement, worth, attitudes, potentiality. Modern psychological studies and tests have made it possible to define our standards in personal terms and at the same time to safeguard our nation and individual states against the admission of undesirable immigrants. It thus becomes possible to repeal racially discriminatory admission laws, land ownership laws, and naturalization laws.

California is right in her desire not to be overrun by Asiatic hordes. She must preserve herself, but her solution of the problem is myopic. It ignores Japan's willingness to accede to the fundamental needs of California. It overlooks the request of the United States for an open door in Asia and equality of treatment similar to that accorded to citizens of "the most favored nation."

Our test for admitting immigrants should no longer be determined by our caprices, prejudices, or sympathies, but by considerations of the personal qualifications of the immigrant, our national welfare, and international justice. The test resolves itself to one of constructive assimilative ability. The members of a race that are widely different from us will assimilate slowly. This rate of assimilation will serve as a fairly

scientific test of admission. For example, it has been proposed by S. L. Gulick that we admit immigrants from any nation annually not to exceed 5 or 10 per cent of those here and assimilated from the given nation. Such a standard would eliminate race discrimination. At the same time, it would admit each year only a small proportion of the Japanese who are now admitted by our present objectionable laws.

This test would lessen Japanese immigration and still be fair to Japan. It would protect California and other interested states. The interests of California would be better conserved than at present, and our Federal Governmnt would be put in a position of acting justly and democratically toward a neighboring nation. It is possible for Americanism to acquire such a flavor that it will incur the increasing suspicion of the nations of the Far East, or to stress elements which will foster the good will and co-operation of Japan and China. May the latter tendency prevail.

The Japanese problems in California arise chiefly out of economic factors. The prejudice in California against the Japanese springs not from a thoroughgoing study but largely from the fact that the Japanese are successful competitors economically. The chief objection to the picture brides was not that they did not make good wives, but that they went into the fields and worked. The prejudice against the Japanese farmer is not that he is a poor farmer, but that he is the opposite and that he combines with his fellows, thus driving out the American farmer and cornering the markets. But this latter unfortunate practice is not peculiar to the Japanese alone. It was recently re-

ported that a Japanese potato raiser was keeping 3,000,000 pounds of potatoes in warehouses, and thus causing the rise in price of potatoes. The same report also stated that an American speculator had bought and was holding in storage 5,000,000 pounds of potatoes. The economic sins of the Japanese are not far different from those of other immigrants and of Americans.

The solution of the perplexing question of Japanese immigration is not in absolute prohibition. No contacts at all between the United States and Japan will lead to a final struggle for dominance. There is need for the admission of a small number of Japanese immigrants, annually, and tested by high standards of individual qualifications. After they are admitted, the process of assimilation and naturalization should be furthered. Only through a procedure of fair play, scientific insight, and good will can the question of Japanese immigration be settled constructively.

PROBLEMS

1. Why are East Indian immigrants so difficult to assimilate?
2. What are Chinese Tongs?
3. Is the question of Chinese immigration settled?
4. When did Japanese immigration begin? Why?
5. Distinguish between the attitude of Japan toward Japanese immigration and the attitude of individual Japanese.
6. Why did Japan make the "gentleman's agreement"?

7. What problems has the California Alien Land Law raised?
8. Explain: The Japanese are the most patriotic people in the world.
9. Why are the Japanese called the Yankees of the East?
10. What is the leading trait of the Japanese farmer?
11. Does the Japanese immigrant assimilate readily?
12. What is the most serious factor in the Japanese situation on the Pacific Coast?
13. Why is the meeting ground of the Eastern and Western civilizations, namely, the Pacific Coast, of world significance?
14. Are the contradictions between Eastern and Western civilizations so far-reaching as to preclude unification?

Chapter XVI

THE MEXICAN IMMIGRANT

In the Southwestern states, the Mexican problem has developed with rapidity since 1900. Because the Mexican immigrants represent the peon classes or the mixed and least developed classes of Mexico, because they come from scenes of current oppression and revolution, because of the delicate international relations of the United States and Mexico, because of the untoward living conditions of the Mexican immigrants in the United States, and because of the chasm of misunderstanding which exists between Americans and Mexicans, no Americanization program is complete which does not include the Mexican immigrant problem.

Of Mexico's population of 10,000,000 or more, about 19 per cent are white (Spanish), 43 per cent are mixed bloods (Spanish and Indian with Negro admixture), and 38 per cent are native Indians. The process of amalgamation — mixture of races — is gradually taking place. Unlike the situation in the United States, the Indians are not dying out as an isolated race, but are contributing their qualities to a new Mexican race of Spanish and Indian origins. But a mixed race, living at the same time in the same locality as the purer races always confronts a hard struggle. Recognition is reluctantly given to such a race; taunts and cries of shame are heaped upon it. Mexican immigration to the United States is composed largely of mixed bloods.

Socially, there are in Mexico but two classes: the rich, who are few in numbers, comprising less than 10 per cent of the population; and the poor, representing more than 90 per cent. The rich are very wealthy, possessing large landed estates; the poor are living in conditions of squalor and ignorance. They live in adobe, or clay houses, with thatched roofs, dirt floors, and frequently in single rooms. It is this class which is being brought into the United States as immigrant labor. Centuries of opression have broken the spirit and nearly destroyed the self-respect of the peon class.

Thus far, Americanization in its relations to the mass of Mexican immigrants has been largely negative. To the Mexican immigrant, Americanism has meant scarcely more than a blind and a more or less helpless struggle for existence. It has meant unfavorable housing conditions and non-stimulating labor conditions. It has meant contacts with snobbishness. And it has oftentimes been a causal factor in arousing in the Mexican a spirit of retaliation or of anarchism.

The reasons for these unfavorable reactions are manifold. The Mexican immigrants, as a class, remain illiterate and subject to narrow visions. They have little opportunity to learn English or to know the best phases of Americanism. They have been imported by employers, many of whom are interested only in the work which the Mexicans can do. The leading American agencies which have sought Mexican laborers are the railroad companies whose representatives have brought thousands of peons across the border, and the ranchers who have employed the Mexicans in the beet sugar and other industries of the Southwestern states.

The Mexicans come with the idea of returning

shortly; hence, the problems arising from a transient labor supply are common. They work as section hands and as unskilled laborers in railroad shops. Large numbers go into the farming districts as seasonal laborers. Between seasons they return across the border, or drift about the country, or hang around improvised plazas in idleness. The chief centers of Mexican immigrant population are in Southern Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California. The two main groups are in El Paso and Los Angeles.

In our towns and cities, the Mexicans live in shacks and house-courts.[1] The living conditions of the Mexican in Los Angeles where approximately 30,000 are congregated reflects the general Mexican immigrant situation. Of the 30,000 Mexicans in Los Angeles, about 60 per cent live in two-room habitations and nearly 25 per cent in one-room habitations. The average rent paid for a two-room shack is from six to fourteen dollars per month. The habitations are built of wood or adobe and front upon an inner yard which often is not well drained and which for a time after a rain contains pools of stagnant water. In the inner yard are the wash-tubs and usually the toilets.

About 60 per cent of the population are men. Candles are still in common use. Saloons and access to liquors have demoralized the Mexican more than any other factor. The Los Angeles statistics show that the offenses of Mexicans against the law have decreased greatly since the saloon was abolished and prohibition was put into effect.

[1]The reader is referred to the present writer's article in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XXII:391-99.

About 90 per cent of the Mexican immigrants are Catholics. The young men and women marry early — at least one-half of the girls marry while in their teens. Shiftlessness is common. Illiteracy exceeds 50 per cent. The American environment affords the Mexican inadequate stimulation. He is brought into our country as an unskilled laborer, works irregularly and seasonably, lives in unhealthy and un-American ways, and after drifting about, may settle in the United States permanently. When the average American sees him, the worst effects of his centuries of oppression are evident and his best qualities are hidden.

He is somewhat individualistic, following leaders rather than organizations. He is noted for politeness. He stresses form. He loves art and music. He is patient, submissive, and when his confidence is secured, is very loyal.

What is the United States doing to develop in the Mexican immigrant a love for our country? The question is equally vital, whether he stays with us, or returns to Mexico. Many public school teachers and settlement and religious workers are helping to educate the Mexican immigrant and to give him the American point of view. On the whole, however, little is being done in an organized or public way to increase the love of the Mexican immigrant for the United States. To allow him to live in the barn with the horse and cow is not enough. To permit him to live in un-American conditions, without doing anything in a large-scale way for his welfare will not make a good American citizen of him if he stays; and will not increase his respect for the United States if he returns to Mexico. It is not enough to pay him wages and then allow him to shift

for himself, possibly becoming the victim of revolutionary and radical propaganda.

When approached by Americans who are interested in him, not for the labor he can perform, but for the possibilities of development which he possesses, he reveals a longing and an ambition to strive for the higher values of life. Neighborhood school teachers, settlement and religious workers who have come to understand the Mexicans, speak as a unit in praise of them and of their fine potentialities. A small Mexican girl said to a housing inspector in Los Angeles: "When people pass by in their autos, we feel ashamed for them to see us living in these old shacks. Can't you make the boss fix them?" This girl who was attending the public schools had become acquainted with girls who had better homes than her own, and she was sad because she could not have the pleasure of inviting her schoolmates to her home.

Shall the children of Mexican immigrants — children who will grow up to be American citizens — be reared in shacks, without adequate home care, without play facilities, without protection from habitations which are infected with tubercle bacilli, without proper nutrition, without being safeguarded from the vices lurking in dark alleys and streets?

We need to have a better understanding of Mexican immigrants. We need to develop ties of respect, not chasms of distrust and fear between ourselves and the Mexicans. We need to develop an efficient educational program and furnish a sufficient number of home teachers to give the illiterate members of the race an appreciation of the best American ideals. We need to develop in the Mexican immigrants a true sense of

economic values. We need to offer a democratic industrial program which will produce a mutual understanding between the American employer and the Mexican employee. We need to encourage the Mexican to live a more practical and socialized religious life.

An Americanization program for Mexican immigrants includes a wholesale extension of the attitude of helpfulness toward and understanding of them, the establishment of wholesome living conditions for them, and a wide adoption of the home teacher method of taking constructive American ideas and standards into their habitations and changing these into places fit for the rearing of American children.

PROBLEMS

1. What is the origin of the term, peon?
2. Why do many Americans think of Mexicans as being barbarians?
3. What is the social significance of the Mexican plaza?
4. Is the Mexican immigrant inherently shiftless?
5. Why do Mexican immigrants become naturalized slowly?
6. What is the best quality of the Mexican immigrant?
7. What are the opportunities of the adult Mexican immigrant to know American ideals?
8. What forces are at work in the process of assimilating Mexican immigrants?

PART FOUR

METHODS OF AMERICANIZATION

Chapter XVII

INDUSTRIAL PHASES

Economic causes have operated strongly as factors in migration since earliest times. Primitive man lived a migratory life, chiefly because of the necessity of searching for food. With the development of tribal organizations, whole tribes migrated in search of better lands. Nations have fought territorial wars and sent out colonies to develop the conquered territories. The modern immigration movement has been motivated largely by the desire for a better living. Although the longing for political independence or for religious freedom has been dominant at times among immigrants, the economic desires have been primary throughout nearly all migration history. The immigrant has been willing to risk the dangers of moving because of the chance to make a better livelihood.

A large proportion of the immigration to the United States in the last fifty years has been induced by the economic prosperity of our country. After every industrial crisis, immigration has definitely decreased. With returning prosperity, immigration has rapidly increased, usually exceeding previous records.

The economic opportunities and the atmosphere of freedom in the United States have been the chief

causes of immigration. But the economic and living opportunities in this country long ago possessed no great advantages for the common man over the opportunities in Northern and Western Europe, and immigration from those quarters declined. Although the life in the dark and gigantic tenements of New York City has turned the occupants into a race of modern cave people, the appeal of America is still strong enough to draw millions of people from the illiterate quarters of the globe. Southern Italy, Jewish Poland, and Russia, Slavic Europe, India, China, the Malay Archipelago, and similar sections of the earth contain hundreds of millions of people who would migrate to the United States if the way were open. It is wise that the United States maintain her standards of living, and hence that she definitely restrict immigration until her constructive Americanization forces are properly functioning. Americanization can not go forward satisfactorily, however, unless all who promote it keep continually in mind the causes of immigration to the United States and the hopes and aspirations which are stirring in the mind of the immigrant upon his arrival.

In order to secure admission to our country, the immigrant must pay a head tax. This sum, originally fifty cents, has been revised upward several times. In 1917, it was increased to eight dollars. The income from this tax is used to pay the expenses of maintaining the immigration stations, staffs, and in general, paying the costs of admitting immigrants. The returns from the head tax have been sufficient to pay the expenses of the Bureau of Immigration and to turn a

neat surplus of several million dollars into the general funds of the Treasury Department.

In view of these facts it would seem that more attention could be given to the immigrant at the time of his entry into the country and during the adjustment period. Since he pays more than the expenses of his own entry, he is entitled to as human a reception as possible. His first disappointment has often come from the way in which he has been jostled along, yelled at, and caged up — unexpectedly — at the port of entry. At this time he often receives his first lesson in distrusting America, and in doubting whether or not he wants to become an American citizen. A public opinion is needed which will see to it that if an immigrant is to be admitted, he will be made enthusiastic upon his arrival to become a citizen, and a loyal citizen contributing his best to our nation.

An immigrant who would enter our country must have no promise of work or else he must perjure himself by saying that he has no such promise, even if he has come at the behest of a relative who has guaranteed him a job. According to the contract labor law, no alien can be admitted who has made an agreement, "oral, written or printed, expressed or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled." If the alien has a promise of work through a letter from a brother, he cannot be admitted, or else he must swear that he has no such guarantee.

The immigrant who would enter the country has three ways of procedure open to him. (1) He may come without any idea where he can obtain work. This plan would be foolhardy, and as a matter of fact, very few immigrants are so foolish. (2) He may

come with an understanding that he can have work. He may so state the matter, but if he does, he is debarred from entering the country. (3) He may come with a promise of work, and lie to the immigration official to the effect that he has no work in sight, and be admitted.

This situation is unfortunate. The immigrant at the very introduction to American life is indirectly taught to disregard our laws. This objectionable procedure arises from the fact that before we had a contract labor law, the representatives of our large employing concerns went to Europe and made tacit agreements with groups of immigrants to come to the United States and to work for higher wages than they could get at home, but for lower wages than would ordinarily be paid in this country for the same type of labor. This exploitation led to the passage of the contract labor law.

The Canadian plan has superior advantages. Canada has long had the policy of admitting those unskilled and skilled immigrants who have assurance of work. Thus, perjury is unnecessary, and no period of unemployment is likely to occur. The immigrant must know what he is going to do and where he is going to work in order to secure admittance. In the United States, a national minimum wage law would go far toward protecting the alien against innocently agreeing to work for less than living wages.

In the reports of the Immigration Commission, an important incident is described, which shows the difference between the Canadian law and ours in regard to the promise of work requirement for admission. An

immigrant applied for entry to the United States at our station in Quebec. He had been told in a letter from a brother in one of the Western states that the brother could probably get him work if he would come. On the strength of this assurance, he came, and so informed the immigration official, who, doing his duty, enforced the contract labor clause and debarred the man from entry. The man then went to the Canadian immigration station in Quebec and applied for admission to Canada. When asked if he had had any promise of work in Canada, he promptly replied in the negative. The Canadian officer, enforcing the Canadian rule that anyone without assurance of work, cannot be admitted, refused the man entry to Canada. In one instance, the alien was refused admission because he had work "in sight"; in the other, because he did not. Both methods are beset by evils, to be sure, but the Canadian is undoubtedly superior.

As soon as the immigrant is admitted and leaves the immigration station, he is subjected to a great variety of exploitation schemes. Every step of the way to sound Americanism is beset by sharp economic practices. He is defrauded in "making change." He is bedazzled by glass diamonds. He is deceived by loan sharks. He is inveigled into buying worthless oil stocks or valueless lands. Under the direction of the padrone, he is cheated out of a part of his wages. At immigrant banks, his earnings have sometimes disappeared. Even the representatives of immigrant societies have overcharged and exploited the unsophisticated alien. In the name of the American god of wealth, helpless immigrant girls and women have been led astray, demoralized, and debauched.

The list of methods by which new immigrants are swindled in the United States has no end. Every day brings the revelation of new devices. The latest scheme that I have noticed is the announcement to make an individual into a "movie star" in five lessons — for five dollars.

Native Americans, and immigrants who have been for some time in the country participate in these nefarious practices. The newcomer to a land of democracy is entitled to just treatment from everyone. The fact that he is exploited by a fellow immigrant who has lived in America for a few years does not offset his chagrin and does not increase his respect for America. But when the exploitation is conducted by native Americans, the immigrant is filled with disgust. Exploitation of the immigrant, whether by a fellow immigrant or by an American, if it occurs in the United States, is disastrous to the Americanization process.

The immigrant of the last forty years has shunned agricultural pursuits and gone into industry. The immigrants who came before 1885 went to the farms in large numbers. They helped to develop the land, to increase the food supply and to maintain habits of thrift. They advanced from laborers to farmers. They became good citizens.

But the immigrants of recent years have gone to the large cities and the factory and mining communities. They have come from rural districts and entered urban life. They have left outdoor work in Europe and entered "the dangerous, the dirty, and the odorous trades" in the United States.

There is great need for immigration to rural United States. Farm laborers are scarce. Household help is

also in great demand. But the immigrant, like the native, cannot resist the attractions of the city. The Japanese is perhaps the only race which is sending a majority of its immigrants to the farms and into the work of raising produce. There should be mentioned, also, other rural groupings of some of the recent immigrants, such as the Bohemian colonies of Texas, the Italian colonies in New Jersey, Texas, Louisiana, and New York, the Jewish colonies in New York and New Jersey, the Portuguese colonies in California.

Many attempts have been made to get the immigrants in our cities to move into rural districts. Whole groups have been colonized, but to little avail. Some have been exploited. Some have failed. The most noteworthy experiments in this connection have been conducted in behalf of Jewish immigrants by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society of New York and by the representatives of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. But the immigrants, having once lived in the city, have continued to feel the irresistible city pull when moved into the country. In this respect they have proved their kinship with native Americans.

Practically three-fourths of all mining in the United States is done by the foreign-born. But only a small percentage of these people worked in mines before coming to our country. Now they labor hundreds and even thousands of feet beneath the earth's surface in dark, deep caverns where countless dangers lurk and the cheering rays of sunshine cannot enter.

In manufacturing, the immigrant has made himself indispensable. In the iron and steel mills, more than two-thirds of the workers are foreign-born. There are thousands who work the twelve hour day and do the

long turn of twenty-four hours every two weeks. The gigantic iron and steel industries in Pittsburg, Bethlehem, Lackawanna, Birmingham, Pueblo, South Chicago and Gary could scarcely exist without the immigrant. The slaughtering and meat-packing industries of Chicago and similar centers have been built up out of immigrant labor. Sugar-refining is done almost entirely by immigrants. The woolen mills, cotton mills, furniture factories, leather goods factories would be obliged to close if it were not for immigrant labor. The manufacture of clothing has long been known as an essentially immigrant industry. It was originally developed by the German and Irish immigrants, but it is now in the hands of the Jews who find strong competition in the Italians, especially in New York City.

The agricultural and industrial situation in the United States needs to be adequately surveyed at intervals with reference to labor needs. Upon the basis of the results of these surveys, it would be possible to invite immigrants to do certain lines of work and to discourage them from entering upon other types of industrial activity. For a long time Canada has followed the plan of announcing through bulletins and agents the kinds of work for which immigrants are in demand. She has also announced from time to time the occupations in which there is at the time a surplus of labor. By enforcing this policy, Canada has been able to meet her labor needs intelligently, to direct immigrants to the rural and away from the urban communities, and at the same time to safeguard the immigrants against many unnecessary disappointments. A similar plan, modified to meet our needs, would greatly further Americanization.

The main problem before the mind of the incoming immigrant is that of getting work. As has been stated, he usually comes only after having received some kind of assurance in this regard. He goes as soon as possible to the relatives or the person who encouraged him to come to the United States.

Several difficulties arise. The circumstances upon which the original promise of work was made may have changed, for the immigrant's arrival ordinarily takes place several weeks, if not months, after the promise was made. Frequently, the immigrant arrives during a strike, or a temporary suspension of the given industry. Sometimes, if he is coming to a point hundreds of miles or even a thousand miles inland from New York City, his funds, for an unexpected reason, become exhausted, and it is necessary to meet the emergency the best way that he can. Again, the new immigrant sometimes experiences difficulty in locating the address to which he is going, or he fails to make train connections and misses the friends who are looking for him at the railroad station. In other words, the incoming immigrant must often find temporary work in the best way that he can in a strange land without assistance.

The majority of immigrants reach relatives safely and find work to do, but it is often unfamiliar work. The immigrants from the peasant districts of Europe locate in our large metropolitan cities or in the industrial centers. To change from a leisurely agricultural existence to a rapid and artificial urban life is difficult. Large wages melt away before an unexpected high cost of living. The change is made from a slow agricultural to a rapid industrial pace — with little gain and con-

siderable loss. Some day the immigrant awakens to the tragedy of his industrial predicament and America receives the blame. She fails to win his loyalty, and makes the assimilation process unnecessarily difficult.

There are six methods of finding employment in the United States which are open to the incoming immigrant, or more particularly, to the immigrant who has left or lost one position and is looking for another. (1) He may seek work through his friends. But this method under the conditions of modern large-scale industry is not far-reaching. (2) He may apply personally. But the immigrant, perhaps not yet well acquainted with the English language, is at a decided disadvantage when he appears singly at the office door of a factory superintendent and asks for work. Not all native Americans would have the courage to appear at such an office door. (3) The padrone system is available for securing a position. But the padrone is often an exploiter. (4) Collective bargaining is effective, but this method is open only to skilled laborers who are organized. The mass of the unskilled are unable to bargain collectively. (5) Labor and employment agencies exist for the express purpose of securing work for the unemployed. A fee is charged. A considerable amount of fraud is perpetrated by these agencies.

The last method (6) to be mentioned calls for particular emphasis. A thoroughly co-ordinated system of municipal, state and Federal labor agencies or exchanges serves the needs of immigrants better than any other procedure. There are several states and cities in our country which have inaugurated free labor exchanges. The Federal Government during the World

War opened a chain of federal exchanges, but a lack of appropriated money made it necessary to discontinue this important work. Only through a complete command of the employment situation, such as the Federal Government is in a position to assume, can the problem of unemployment as related to immigrants be solved. Free labor exchanges are needed throughout the nation, wherever persons are employed in considerable numbers. By helping the immigrants to secure work, by making employment adjustments, and by giving friendly advice, the government labor exchanges can become indirect but exceedingly important Americanization agencies.

The relation of immigration to wages has been vigorously discussed. Many persons, especially labor leaders, have argued that a large influx of immigrants increases the labor supply and compels all laborers in a given class to accept lower wages than they would have done otherwise. As immigration has brought millions of unskilled workers, it is claimed that the wages of the poorest people — those who are most in need of a larger income — have been kept down to or even below a subsistence level.

Labor leaders have accused employers of favoring unrestricted immigration and high tariff; the one for the purpose of keeping wages low, and the other, to keep selling prices high—thus guaranteeing large profits through exploiting immigrant labor on one hand, and the consumer on the other hand. But other factors, besides supply and demand, affect the labor situation, and the contention of labor leaders cannot be accepted too literally. There is no doubt, however, that a large immigration of illiterate, unskilled workers

has seriously affected the question of wages. Sufficient data are not at hand to justify a specific conclusion. A general conclusion may be given: immigration has prevented wages from rising as rapidly as they would otherwise have done.

A more important measure than restricting immigration would be measures for training unskilled workers along lines of vocational guidance, for increasing their industrial efficiency, and for enabling them to become participants in the management of the industries in which they are employed. There is great danger in sudden large influxes of unskilled immigrants; they temporarily lower wages, and cause unemployment difficulties. But a regulated influx, based on labor needs and rate of assimilation need not seriously affect wages, providing standards of vocational proficiency and industrial democracy are taught and established.

During an industrial depression, thousands of immigrants return to Europe. But other thousands are stranded here. Although immigrants do not cause industrial panics, the presence of millions of unskilled, illiterate immigrants makes the unemployment and poverty situations very difficult to meet. Adult education for immigrants in times of industrial prosperity and a constructive system of Federal and local labor exchanges will help materially in meeting the acute problems that arise in connection with immigrants during periods of industrial depression. Constructive and *a priori* thinking and acting in these matters are essential to an adequate Americanization procedure.

What is the relation of immigration to labor unions? Trade unions are often composed almost entirely of

skilled immigrants. The leaders of unions are frequently immigrants. In the coal mining districts, for example, the Irish furnish the leadership for the unions; they also commonly are the leaders among strike breakers. But labor unionists generally oppose unrestricted immigration.

Before 1914, unskilled immigrants had been coming faster than the unions could absorb them. The incoming unskilled immigrant does not appreciate the advantages of belonging to a union. If he joins, he soon tires of paying dues and drops his membership. In certain regions of Pennsylvania, unskilled immigrants have been employed in such numbers that the unions have found themselves helpless, and in some cases they have been forced to disband. Employers, on the other hand, have often placed small numbers of immigrants of several races together in the same shop or department, and thereby prevented that consciousness of kind from arising which is the foundation of any labor organization.

The labor union has often given the immigrant his first lesson in democracy. The alien has come perhaps from a country where he has never voted and had no voice in law-making. In the union, he votes, he helps to make laws or rules, he participates in the discussions, he learns to obey the rules which he has helped to make, and he supports the leaders whom he has assisted in electing. In consequence, he gets a personal meaning for the first time of the concept of democracy.

The labor union and its principle of collective bargaining are essential to the welfare of the immigrant in the United States under present conditions. Otherwise, he is helpless before the shrewdness of his em-

ployer. But since the unskilled immigrant does not appreciate the labor union, some other measures are necessary in order to secure him justice. (1) Education in English and in industrial conditions will help him. (2) Shop management will prove valuable, if applied democratically. (3) But most important, a new attitude on the part of the employer is needed. The employer needs to realize that labor, as Abraham Lincoln said, takes precedence over capital in productive enterprises. The welfare of labor, even unskilled immigrant labor, is a more important factor than the welfare of capital. If one factor must be sacrificed, then it must be the latter. By the adoption of this principle of considering labor not a commodity to be bought at the lowest possible price, but as human life with hopes and aspirations to be encouraged and brought to fruition through useful human products, the Americanization of immigrants will become almost automatic.

The industrial accident rate in the United States is abnormally high. In the coal mines, for example, the percentage of fatal accidents has averaged about twice as high as in the British Empire, Belgium, or France. This high rate has persisted despite the fact that our coal mines are not as deep or dangerous as those in England or on the Continent. Inasmuch as a large percentage of the coal miners in the United States are immigrants, the accident rate falls heaviest upon them. In fact, in nearly all catastrophes in industry where many lives are lost at a time, immigrants bear the brunt of the disaster.

Americanization means that these terrible losses which immigrants suffer will be prevented or greatly

alleviated. The chief need in attaining this end is that industry be humanized. The immigrant's welfare must be put ahead of profits or any other economic factor. When that standard is incorporated into the daily processes of industry, the accident rate will be reduced to a minimum. Several important changes in industrial conditions will follow. (1) Men will receive better care than mules. When a fire occurs in a mine, the cry will no longer be heard, "Save the mules first." When dynamite explodes and an immigrant is killed, the comment will no longer be, "Poor fellow, he didn't know any better."

(2) The industrial pace will be slackened to protect adequately the lives of the workers. The bosses will not be continually driven by orders from the superintendent to make a record in production — irrespective of the lives of the men. (3) The men who work near together in a hazardous occupation will be taught sufficient English to understand one another and to develop a co-operative feeling before they are allowed to undertake dangerous work.

It has been true in the United States and still is true in some states that when a man is injured in industry he has had to fight the corporation's lawyers or the lawyers of the employers' liability insurance company for damages. Often the man has been visited by the lawyers while he is still sick and almost forced to sign papers which for a small sum release the employer from damages. The sum which has been granted by the employing concern, even to the widow in case of the death of the wage-earner, has usually been about $200 or $300, an amount sufficient to meet funeral expenses only. The widow perhaps with small chil-

dren is left without funds — a charity patient. These difficulties beset the immigrants and especially those least able to defend themselves. As a result, the United States proves an almost irrevocable disappointment to immigrants, and generates cynicism rather than loyalty.

The workmen's compensation principle has been adopted in many states to meet this situation. The assumption is that accidents should be charged to production and the injured or his widow given a material compensation for the injury. This plan inaugurates justice, but it still is not in operation throughout all our states.

The immigrants are also victims of occupational diseases, such as lead poisoning or tuberculosis. The sickness rate in many occupations, by virtue of their nature, is excessive. The immigrant laborer suffers a period of sickness, loses his wages for that period, and at the end faces the sickness bills. Consequently, since some occupations produce a high liability to disease, the problem becomes acute. Immigrant laborers are driven to despair, and in the losing fight which circumstances forces them to put up unaided, they curse the land which once held out to them alluring promises. The campaign for health insurance laws in the various states is an essential element in a sound Americanization program.

Another related program is labor turnover. Some employing establishments report a labor turnover of 100 per cent in two years. Such firms are continually engaged in "hiring and firing" employees. This process is expensive to the employer and the consumer, and demoralizing to the employee. A leading cause is

a mutual lack of understanding and adjustment. A plan such as that which Henry Ford was one of the first employers to adopt on a large scale, of trying out an employee in several different lines of work and of training him to do the types of work for which he is best fitted is correct in principle. Such a human procedure redounds not only to the advantage of industry but of Americanization work. The immigrant is quick to appreciate, as a rule, the kindly, directing attitude of a public-spirited, unselfish employer. From this attitude a series of measures can proceed which will reduce labor turnover to a minimum and at the same time further the principles of sound Americanism.

The problem of banking has confronted the immigrant. He has been thrifty, but he has not known how to put his savings at interest. He has hid his money, or more likely he has left it with a store-keeper of his own race. This store-keeper has usually proved honest, and turned back the savings to the depositor when called for. It has been the custom for the immigrant to allow perhaps fifty to 100 dollars to accumulate and then to send the sum back to the home country.

The store-keeper, or immigrant banker, has rarely paid interest on the money which is intrusted to his care by the immigrants. But he has invested the funds in his own business, put them in the regular banks on interest, or even loaned them to private parties. He has usually kept enough cash on hand to meet the demands of the immigrants who wish to withdraw their funds. As a result of the loose "banking" methods, some of the so-called immigrant bankers have absconded or otherwise defrauded the immigrant patrons. Several states have passed laws requiring protection

of the depositors. But the question arises: How can the immigrant be stimulated to invest his money in productive enterprises in this country or to put it into American banks at the standard savings account rate of interest, instead of hoarding it and sending it to his home land?

At once it may be said that the immigrant is entitled to send his money out of the country if he wishes. For each dollar of it, he has usually rendered more than a dollar's worth of productive service to the country. But if the opportunities for putting his surplus savings into economic production in this country were made safe and attractive, not only he, but the cause of production and the welfare of the nation would be favorably affected. He lacks confidence in "the marble-faced, mahogany-upholstered, and brass-trimmed American bank." Another essential of Americanization is for employers and business men to cultivate the confidence of the immigrant — and to deserve that confidence.

The immigrant has been unjustly criticized for sending millions of dollars annually to Europe. By so doing, however, he diminishes the gold supply of the country and thereby lowers the price levels, and also increases the purchasing power of the country to which he sends his money, enabling that country to swell our export trade. It is true, however, that if the immigrant's saving were safely invested in the United States, the nation as a whole and in the largest sense would possess a greater unity and strength than when the immigrant's money goes out of the country. The nation can afford to offer inducements whereby the immigrant will change his mental attitude and choose

to make his investments here. The time is coming, if it has not already arrived, when the United States cannot admit the immigrant who comes simply to make money and return to a foreign country. If he is admitted, it must be as a home-seeker and a future citizen as well as a workman.

The industrial phases of Americanization apply to the native-born more than to the foreign-born. The former have nearly all the advantages, and hence must bear a large proportion of the responsibilities. The industrial Americanization of the immigrant is simply a part of the larger problem of securing industrial democracy in the United States for all classes of workmen. When the economic system of this country is made over so as to guarantee representation and participation in industry for all, laborers as well as capitalists, when the human interests of labor are put ahead of the material interests of capital, and when all persons engaged in the production of economic goods learn to co-operate on the basis of good will, the industrial phases of Americanization will be solved.

The situation calls for the development of brotherly relations between employer and employee. Wherever immigrants are employed, the strategic position is often held by the foreman or boss. He can act in an autocratic, inhuman, and un-American way; or he can be an interpreter and a teacher of the best type of Americanism.

The new industrial order, according to sound Americanization principles, will be one which will not strive to train the unskilled immigrant into "a race of docile workhorses." It will be one in which the immigrant laborer will be stimulated to produce efficiently, to

assist in working out the principles of democracy in industrial relationships, and through these processes to develop his personality to the fullest and richest extent.

PROBLEMS

1. If you have moved from one state to another in the United States, what have been the chief reasons?
2. Is it true that America frequently makes of the immigrant an infuriated toiler?
3. Do you favor a head tax for immigrants? Why?
4. Why not repeal the contract labor law?
5. What are the objections to the work principle of admission which Canada has followed?
6. Why is the immigrant exploited and swindled so much?
7. Why do immigrants dislike to move from large cities into rural districts?
8. What would happen if there were no unskilled immigrant laborers in this country?
9. What would happen industrially if all immigrants should take some Americans at their word and leave the country permanently?
10. Explain: Time is commercialized in the United States.
11. In what ways does the labor turnover problem hinder Americanization?
12. Why do new immigrants mistrust the large American banks?

13. Is it true that in the United States there is an idle leisure class built in part upon the industrial servitude of immigrant races?
14. Why do the problems of industrial Americanization rest chiefly on the native-born?

Chapter XVIII

SOCIAL PHASES OF AMERICANIZATION

The social phases of Americanization begin in the steerage. The new type of steerage represents fairly satisfactory conditions, but the old type expresses oftentimes the worst possible introduction to American life. The old type still exists on the ships carrying immigrants between Mediterranean ports and the United States, and thus on ships which are bringing Italian, Greek, Slavic, Jewish, and other immigrants. The air in the steerage of these ships soon becomes foul, but remains unchanged. The floors, if iron, are damp; and if wooden, are likely to be filthy. The food is unwholesome. Overcrowding is sometimes common. During storms, the steerage passengers are often sick for several days, nevertheless, very little is done for the comfort of the passengers. The floors of the steerage are usually not cleaned until the ship nears America. Moral conditions are frequently bad. During the voyage of ten to seventeen days, the immigrants are rendered subnormal both physically and mentally, if not demoralized. There is need that the social standards be improved, even if the cost of the voyage be increased. There is need that matrons, representing the United States immigration service, travel in the steerage of the immigrant-carrying ships.

When the immigrant lands at the immigration station, his first series of impressions may be unfavorable. Instead of being treated with the spirit of courtesy

which he himself possesses, he is often herded in pens and driven like cattle. He comes, bringing ideas, ideals, and a culture often centuries old. He, also, has pictured what America is like, but alas, "the first impact of America is disappointing." When he rides on "a jangling, rickety old street-car that bounces him along through one shabby alley after another" on the way to the East Side in New York City, he beholds the revolting misery, as M. E. Ravage puts it, and wonders why this misery exists in the presence of illimitable wealth. He wonders why Americans are so callous to the juxtaposition of so much misery and so much wealth. He wonders if there is not a worm at the heart of America. The boasted American freedom, continues Mr. Ravage, turns out to be freedom to sell cabbages from a pushcart and freedom to live in monstrous dirty caves that shut out the sunshine — called tenements.

The immigrant trains from New York City leave in the evening and arrive, for example, at the industrial centers in Pennsylvania at midnight or in the early morning hours. Other immigrant trains reach Chicago and other points at irregular hours. Often the immigrants reach the railroad stations when there is no one waiting to meet them. Consequently, immigration halls are needed. These halls, under Federal control, are needed in the industrial centers and the large cities. The railroads should deliver immigrant passengers to the immigration hall in the city to which the immigrant is going. Here the immigrant should receive a cordial welcome by sympathetic officials, and made to feel that the United States wishes to be of service to him in locating his friends or relatives and

in making other needed adjustments. The halls could be operated in conjunction with the Federal labor exchanges. The two institutions could serve as excellent Americanization stations.

A leading social problem in the United States is poverty. What is the relation of immigration to poverty? As far as the available figures show, the foreign-born of voting age in our country constitute an undue percentage of the total number of persons who are receiving public aid. Their percentage rate is nearly twice that of the native-born of voting age. But the percentage rate of the native-born of foreign-born parentage is practically the same as that of the native-born of native parentage. These percentages show that the foreign-born suffer unduly from the economic problem of making ends meet. The adjustments which immigrants must make in our land under strange conditions puts them at a great disadvantage. Further, many of them arrive in this country with slight funds. They are in economic danger at the outset of their career in the United States until they get on their feet industrially. And then, in old age, or when they get past their earning years, they again approach the charity line. The cost of living often prevents them from saving. In addition to a thrift program, an old age insurance system is needed.

Does immigration increase crime in the United States? The studies of criminal statistics show that as far as the foreign-born are concerned the percentage-rate of crime is about the same as, or slightly less than the rate for the native-born of native parents. that the foreign-born population over 15 years of age The criminal records for Chicago for 1915 showed

constituted 43.7 per cent of the entire population, but furnished only 30.1 per cent of the arrests and less than 24 per cent of the convictions. Despite their lack of acquaintance with American laws and procedure, immigrants are as law-abiding as, if not more so than the average American.

A definite percentage of offenses of immigrants is due to ignorance concerning American customs. For example, an Italian woman was arrested for putting ashes in the alley. She had come, however, from an Italian village where she was required by law to put ashes in the street, as a substitute for paving. When she followed a similar procedure in the United States and presumably was abiding by the law, she was arrested.

An examination of the criminal statistics indicates that in gainful offenses, that is, offenses against property, the foreign-born races rank lower than native Americans. In this particular, the percentage-rate, for example, of the Italians is less than one-half that of Americans. On the other hand, the personal violence offenses of the English immigrant rank lowest, while those of the Italian are unusually high, perhaps three times as great as the similar type of offenses among native Americans. The records show that many foreigners are convicted of offenses against public policy, such as the breaking of city ordinances. On the whole, the immigrant himself has as good a record regarding conduct as the native-born of native parents. Outside of ignorance of our laws and customs, the same causes which lead the immigrant to criminal acts also lead the native in the same path.

When we turn to the children of the immigrant, to

the native-born of foreign parentage, we find a different situation. With this class, the percentage rate is nearly twice the rate for either the foreign-born or the natives of native parentage. It seems that while the immigrant is undergoing the difficulties of getting industrially adjusted, his adolescent children break away from parental discipline into the undisciplined American city environments and fall into delinquency and later into crime. There are many factors which cause the parents to lose control over their children. The public schools in educating the children in American ways cause the children to feel superior to parents and even to feel ashamed of them. If the immigrant family could be Americanized together, serious problems would be avoided.

Rural delinquency statistics indicate that the children of immigrants are no more prone to wrong-doing than are other children. In consequence, it would seem that the American urban environment is the chief cause of the high degree of delinquency among immigrant children. The cause is not to be found in racial heredity, but in urban environmental conditions. "America is doing it." By cutting off the child's contact with the parents' culture and traditions suddenly, before the child has developed self-control under American conditions, the special problem of undue delinquency among the native-born of foreign parentage is produced.

The most difficult phase of the immigration question is its relation to the white slave traffic. The Immigration Commission that was appointed by President Roosevelt reported that the importation and harboring of alien women and girls constituted the most

pitiful phase of immigration to the United States. The Commission estimated that thousands of alien girls and women were being imported into the country every year for immoral purposes. The report shows that often as high as $1000 is paid for an unusually attractive girl. Prostitution, which exists as an illegal institution in the United States, is destroying the lives of immigrant girls and women who are coming to this country as victims of the white slave traffic. Aliens who come as prostitutes or procurers, if found out, are debarred, or if discovered after entry are deported. The problem as related to the immigrant is a phase of the larger problem of sex immorality in this country.

Immigrants suffer greatly from bad housing conditions. They come in large part to this country from the open fields and the small villages. Here most of them find housing accommodations in dark, sunshineless tenements. They live under conditions of frightful overcrowding. As their numbers increase, the value of property and rents — under our economic system —automatically rise until overcrowding precludes moral and sanitary living. Americanization involves the necessity of making over the economic system so that while real estate values rise and create millionaires the poor people may not be crushed between the millstones of increasing rents and decreasing living space.

In mining camps the un-American boarding-boss system is not uncommon. The head of the household is a man, or a man and his wife. The "boarding-boss" buys the food and distributes the cost pro rata among the boarders. The boss is paid a certain sum per month for furnishing lodging and for doing the cooking and

washing. Often the rooms and beds are occupied by two sets of boarders, one by day and the other by night.

Then there is the freight car type of housing. The laborers who are doing railroad maintenance and yard work are often housed by racial units in separate freight cars. Conditions are primitive, and decidedly un-American. Both the boarding-boss system and the freight-car type of housing are inadequate. Americanization consists, in part, in modifying housing conditions so that the immigrant may have at least the minimum of respectable housing standards. Give the immigrant family a fair opportunity to have light, sunshine, plumbing, room space, and perhaps a small plot of ground, instead of the present deplorable quarters, and Americanization work will be immeasureably facilitated.

The immigrant does not make the so-called slum. The slums of Edinburgh are occupied by natives — the Scotch. Economic evils cause the slums. The slum has been called the worst possible Americanization school. Spare the slum and spoil the immigrant, is now an axiom. Americanization calls for the abolition of the slum. But until the day when slums are abolished and the fundamental economic cause of congested housing conditions is remedied, the landlord and the rent collector ought to assume their responsibilities as true Americanizers. They ought no longer to be blind to their responsibilities as friendly visitors.

The public health nurse performs splendid Americanization work. She is a public representative, carrying relief from sickness, and even more important, carrying good will into the habitations of the poorest

and most needy immigrants. She is one of the few Americans who bring genuine Americanism to the immigrant mother. She goes where human needs are greatest, explaining in simplest terms the findings of modern scientific medicine to illiterate mothers but mothers of future American citizens. She brings relief from worry to the immigrant mother when the latter is most distracted. She is able to put the immigrant home in touch with all the constructive agencies in the community or city, and thus to further greatly the process of Americanization. Best of all, the public health nurse raises not only the health standards of a community, but disseminates the spirit of true Americanism wherever she ministers.

The use of leisure time is becoming an increasingly important problem in the United States, viewed in its relation to the immigrant. With the shortening of labor hours and the development of commercialized amusements, the immigrant boy and girl falls a victim to disintegrating influences. With the sudden breaking of parental control and with equally sudden release into the undisciplined urban attractions of our cities, the youth of immigrant parents is constantly in danger of absorbing the worst rather than the best of American life. The sudden change from perhaps a rigid, harsh, parental control to a free, easy, jazzy, irreverent, urban atmosphere is not the normal process of making fine types of Americans.

The American rushes about when he plays. He drives at thirty-five miles an hour in order to relax. He patronizes the latest nerve-destroying devices in order to get re-created. His recreation is work rather than play. He often works harder when he plays than

when he works. The immigrant, on the other hand, plays for play's sake. His recreation is characterized by leisure. But after he has been in this country for a period of years, he is likely to manifest the American intensity in his leisure as well as in his working hours. His children acquire this intensity without delay. And thus the whirling, sickening pace of modern industry comes to dominate the new Americans through all their waking hours. It may be seriously questioned whether Americans should not go to school to the immigrant with reference to his fundamental philosophy concerning leisure hours.

The immigrant is noted for his fraternal organizations. The "group" is a much stronger concept with the foreign-born than with the native-born. Wherever a small number of immigrants of a given European race are gathered together, a fraternal organization exists. This organization may take the form of a sokol, an orthodox community, a church society. Many of these various racial organizations form national alliances, such as the Polish National Alliance. While they are furthering the respective racial cultures, they are also available as splendid media for introducing American ideals to the hundreds of thousands or even millions of constituents.

In this connection the opportunities for American patriotic societies are magnificent. The Daughters of the American Revolution have begun to establish clubs for foreign-born children. The Sons of the American Revolution have published leaflets as a means of teaching American ideals to the immigrants. The full possibilities have not yet been realized. What more patriotic work could be undertaken by a patriotic society

than the devotion of its energy and money to the development of American ideals in the hearts and minds of everyone who lives in the United States? What a splendid opportunity exists for our patriotic societies to join with the many national alliances of the foreign-born in the United States in the promulgation of a nation-wide devotion to the principles of liberty, union, democracy, and brotherhood.

There are many American organization that have never flaunted their patriotism, which have thrown their energies unstintingly and unspectacularly into teaching and living the principles of Americanism in immigrant communities. Perhaps the chief of these is the social settlement. This institution was one of the first important specific Americanization agencies in the country. For decades before the term, Americanization, came into use, the social settlement workers had been quietly and unselfishly teaching and doing good among the immigrant peoples of the large cities. Too high praise cannot be accorded the social settlement workers, persons of culture and training, who have lived among the foreign-born, teaching Americanization through kindly deeds. The social settlements in the United States have stood forth like isolated Statues of Liberty in oppressive urban districts, and have carried the spirit of true Americanism to the freedom hungry children from the Old World.

The International Institutes of the Young Women's Christian Association, first organized in 1912, have borne a message similar to that of the social settlement to the immigrants, chiefly, immigrant young women. The International Institutes are performing a magnificent work in safeguarding and guiding these young

women in their transitions from the Old World to the New World. And there have been "not only thousands of simple, strong, beautiful country girls, but thousands of educated young women from comfortable homes" in cities, representing an infinite variety in race, type, character, temperament, and gifts, who have been and are receiving the friendly hand and aid of the International Institutes.

Immediate and widespread adoption should be given promising measures, for example, the plan that the Young Men's Christian Association was putting into operation in 1914 when halted by the outbreak of war. Groups of Y. M. C. A. workers were to be stationed at European points of embarkation to assist immigrants in getting started for America, and to extend an American welcome. In the steerage of ships other groups of Y. M. C. A. workers were to travel, assisting, and giving preliminary instructions to the immigrant. At the American ports of entry a third contingent of workers was to be located; upon immigrant trains, a fourth; and at interior industrial centers, a fifth group. Thus, immigrants could travel from the European ports to an interior American city under the continuous direction of the Young Men's Christian Association. Since the World War ended, this work has again been taken up. Port work on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as activities in behalf of the immigrant in a large number of industrial centers, is being conducted.

Another splendid idea is represented by the American House, Cincinnati, which was inaugurated by R. J. Condon, George Eisler, and other public-spirited citizens of Cincinnati. This unique institution was formerly a saloon, where immigrants were exploited. It

has now become a club-house for immigrants, where Americanization automatically takes place.

There are many other organizations which are furthering assimilation. The Boy Scout movement is teaching the principles of Americanism. The Camp Fire Girls give "points" or honors to the members for teaching English to the foreign-born, American games to an immigrant girl, and American household methods to an immigrant mother.

The relation of the immigrant to religion is exceedingly intricate. The immigrant has usually come from countries where church and state are closely interrelated. Frequently, he has come from countries where religious bigotry has prevailed, and thus one of his hopes in migrating to the United States has sometimes been to escape bigotry or persecution. He often feels that the church somehow is partly responsible for the economic oppression that he has suffered. He sometimes hates Christianity in whose name he has been persecuted.

The dissensions among religious bodies in the United States hinder greatly the so-called process of Christian Americanization. But many churches have carried the principle of human brotherhood in practical ways to the immigrants and have demonstarted that Christianity has in its spirit the power to solve all race and immigration problems. If America were to appeal to the spiritual and religious nature of the immigrants to the degree that she has appealed to their physical abilities in the development of her natural resources, they would undoubtedly respond in a manner that would add tremendously to the backbone and life of America.

As a rule, the immigrant brings a much greater ap-

preciation of art and of the esthetic than the average American possesses. The immigrant comes from countries with centuries of culture and where he has had time to appreciate the beautiful. The foreigner usually possesses a special love of music.

Americanization, unfortunately, has meant that the immigrant's love of art and, particularly, music has been smothered by disheartening conditions of living and working. Overcrowding, unhealthy moral factors, and dehumanizing labor processes have taken the song from the hearts of immigrants.

Americanization should be a process of building up the love of the beautiful which the immigrant brings. It should be a process of building the immigrant's appreciation of art into the very fabric of Americanism, for by so doing the quality of Americanism will be improved.

Distribution of immigrants is an urgent need. For aliens to congregate in large slum districts is tantamount to nullifying the assimilation process. In congested districts, the immigrants are isolated. There the immigrant sees America at her worst, and there the American casts pitying if not disdainful eyes at the immigrant. Immigrants resent being treated as a menagerie of "lower brethren from below the zoölogical line." Adequate distribution is not geographic. It is psychic. It will provide for numerous and wholesome social contacts with Americans. It will give immigrants daily contacts with the best rather than with the baneful phases of American life. Industrial adjustments should accompany the proper distribution of immigrants. For many years, immigration has flooded the already overcrowded urban centers of population;

but a public policy of distribution, supported by educational measures, would expedite Americanization.

Another essential of Americanization is that adequate American leadership among the foreign-born groups be developed. The foreign-born leader is the strategic unit. He is an insider, and has the confidence and respect of his compatriots. A native-born Americanization worker is under the circumstances an outsider. By the members of a foreign-born group, he would be regarded with a natural degree of suspicion. They would likely oppose a direct program which he might wish to inaugurate. They would object to being "Americanized," in the same sense that Americans in Italy, for example, would not readily submit to an "Italianization" program.

Americanization must not be direct and blunt. It had better be indirect. It may take place through the leaders of the foreign-born groups. In fact, Americanization is a subjective process which the immigrant himself must experience. He must take a certain degree, or be induced to take a certain degree, of initiative himself. There is a sense in which the immigrant must Americanize himself. Americanization must not go to him through us as social workers or sociologists, but through us as neighbors.

The Americanization movement must co-ordinate and augment the various Americanizing activities that already have been put into operation by public and private agencies. The work of the public schools, the settlements, the churches, the women's clubs, the Chambers of Commerce, and all the other agencies need thorough co-ordination. Experimental plans must be sanely directed. Sound principles must be observed.

Plan, principles, and activities need to be co-ordinated under governmental supervision. Democratic groups among the immigrants need to be organized so that they can get first-hand ideas and concepts of social democracy.

PROBLEMS

1. Explain: "The steerage passenger is a profitable animal to carry."
2. Why are the immigrant's first impressions in this country often unfavorable?
3. What is the chief function of an "immigration hall"?
4. How would a thrift program benefit immigrants?
5. What would be better than old age insurance for aged immigrants?
6. Why is housing one of the most important Americanization factors?
7. What is the chief purpose of a patriotic society, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution?
8. Distinguish between the American and the South European at play.
9. Why is the social settlement unusually effective as an Americanization institution?
10. Why are many immigrants turned into beggars by some of their would be American benefactors?
11. How can the churches, without proselyting, be strong Americanization factors in foreign districts?

12. Why do the arts thrive better in the Old World than in the New?
13. In what ways can we best utilize the artistic talents of immigrants?
14. How may a geographic distribution of immigrants hinder Americanization?
15. Why is the foreign-born leader a highly important force from the standpoint of Americanization?
16. If there were no immigrants in the United States, would there be need of an Americanization movement?
17. What is the chief cause of the need for Americanization?

Chapter XIX

RACIAL PHASES OF AMERICANIZATION

The entry of the United States into the World War immediately demonstrated that our country was composed of heterogeneous races. The students of immigration had long been saying that racial heterogeneity in the United States was calling for substantial assimilation and amalgamation measures.

In 1910, the census figures showed clearly that the population of each of our large cities was more than one-third foreign-born. The census also showed that the population of these cities was three-fourths foreign in racial stock, that is, that the foreign-born together with their native-born children constituted three-fourths of these urban populations. Thus, without intermarriage or assimilation, the foreign influence was considerable in the cities, and since the cities are dominating forces in the nation, this influence was greater than the average citizen suspected.

As early as 1890, the census revealed another important racial tendency. In a city, such as Boston, the birth-rate and the death-rate of the native stock were about the same. In fact, it appeared that the latter was slightly higher than the former. At the same time, however, the birth-rate of the immigrants, such as the Italians, Irish, and Hebrews far exceeded the death-rate in each case. In other words, while the native stock was at a standstill, the foreign stock was increasing rapidly. Again, without intermarriage or amal-

gamation, the foreign racial strains were superseding the native racial strains, even in the historic colonial city of Boston.

Eugenics teaches the importance of racial lineage. Within limits, blood does tell. Superior races are developed only through the slow processes of time and environment. With a proper environment, the races of Southern Europe, undoubtedly, can prove themselves duly capable in the United States and ultimately produce superior stock. A suitable environment can overcome, in time, the handicaps of undeveloped racial fibre. But why not conserve superior stock, rather than carelessly throw it away, and resort to the slow procedure of developing new race strains? Why not do both things rather than follow the latter formula chiefly?

It was General Francis A. Walker who argued strongly that the native birth-rate began to decline in the Thirties and Forties of the last century, when immigration to this country became noticeable. It was Walker's contention that the influx of immigrants in itself was the chief factor that cut down the native birth-rate. He also held that if immigrants had not come, the native birth-rate would have stayed up. These assumptions have strong support. They are partly true. But the main causes of a declining birth-rate in this country are undoubtedly other than those advanced by Walker. The feminist movement, a love of luxury, city life, foresight, and so forth, are causes which in part answer Walker's unfair charge against immigration.

Another important racial theory of sociological importance that should be considered in connection with

Americanization has been advanced by Professor Franz Boas. It is the contention, startling as it may seem, that even the physical form of a child of immigrants tends to conform somewhat to the racial types of the adopted country and to be influenced in racial physiognomy by the environmental conditions of the new home. In other words, the children of round-headed immigrant parents tend to become long-headed, if born in the United States. Dr. Boas concludes that environment has an important effect upon the anatomical structure and physiological functions of man. Hence, it may be inferred that the environment in the United States is helping to produce a more or less uniform racial type.

Another important racial theory that has been advanced by Dr. Boaz and other leading representatives of ethnological science is that all races are potentially equal. The general theory is that present racial differences are largely due to differences in physical environment, and cultural history, and that if given the same situation and advantages for a length of time, the backward races of the world would come up to the level of the advanced races. According to this interpretation, real racial differences are exceedingly difficult to find. These differences are largely confined to superficial factors, such as slant of the eye, skin color, shape of shin bone, or height. The discussion regarding this theory is going on. The affirmative evidence is steadily increasing. If the principle of potential equality of races should be established, then the problem of building a unified race out of the many heterogeneous races in the country will be greatly simplified.

The question of intermixture of races brings up the problem of intermarriage. Biologically, it may be contended that there is essentially no objection to the intermarriage of the representatives of any races in the United States. The French and English are both mixed races in the sense that each is an intermixture of several races. The Scotch-Irish, one of the most virile races in the United States, is a compound of at least seven races, in part of barbarous origin. Nature, apparently, supports the intermixture of races.

Blue-blood races, as a result of excessive inbreeding, tend to degenerate, unless there is considerable infusion of outside elements. To the other extreme, miscegenation of races which are widely apart on the scale of civilization is likely to result in an undue percentage of abnormal, and particularly, of subnormal individuals. But intermarriage of the members of races somewhat related is a safe norm to endorse.

The intermarriage of races pre-supposes a minimum of race prejudice. Without overcoming race prejudice, the individuals of different races will not intermarry. Racial admixture, however, will take place through illicit sex relations. These relationships occur usually through the actions of the men of the higher race and the women of the lower race. Vice and crime are the concomitant factors. All races in the United States manifest a more or less similar percentage of illigitimacy. The problem, as far as Americanization is concerned, relates to natives as well as to immigrants, and calls for a change in social attitudes that will run uniformly through the lowest normal classes, whether wealthy or poor.

Race prejudice is the subtlest enemy of Americani-

zation. It is deep-seated and emotional. It is largely acquired by each individual through the teachings which he receives or his experiences. Its greatest enemy is education concerning the backgrounds of immigrants, their attitudes, their best qualities. It is now a truism that the members of all races are on a par — when at their best and at their worst. Individuals must be trained to refrain from generalization regarding a race simply upon having suffered a wrong at the hands of two or three members of that race. Journalists must learn to be fair-minded in their statements concerning races. Only a knowledge of the life and problems of races can overcome race prejudice.[1] Only the overcoming of race prejudice can accomplish real Americanization work.

The practical operation of race prejudice in the United States is admirably illustrated by the statement of a Slavic immigrant. "I am an American citizen of several years standing; I have my own home, I have an automobile; I cultivate a little bit of land, but the women in my section will not talk to my wife, and when they go on the street they call me 'Hunkie.'"

Race prejudice leads to race cliquishness — both ways. Natives are cliquish; immigrants form racial colonies. Consequently, race prejudice leads to race isolation. This in turn creates misunderstanding and friction. Perhaps the greatest piece of work that lies before the United States, viewed in the light of Americanization, is the undermining of race prejudice. This task demands infinite patience, psychological insight, and social vision.

[1]The subject of race prejudice as a socio-psychological phenomenon is treated in the writer's *Essentials of Social Psychology*, ch. XII.

The biological phases of Americanization are included under the term, amalgamation. There is much careless confusing of the concepts, assimilation and amalgamation. Asssimilation refers to a uniting of minds or attitudes into a common view of life. It is a psychological process which may be furthered by educational means.

Amalgamation is a biological process. It is a uniting of racial traits or of family traits. It occurs only through intermarriage or illigitimate sex relationships. It cannot be forced. It requires time. It is a process of the centuries, whereas assimilation normally may take place in a generation or less. Amalgamation rests upon assimilation. Unless an assimilation of minds occurs, then amalgamation is neither feasible nor advisable. Amalgamation should not take place between individuals of widely different races — for sound social reasons. The viewpoints of the contracting parties, by virtue of different cultural backgrounds, are likely to lead to such a degree of strained relationships that the marriage relationship fails.

Where assimilation has taken place, or where there is a common basis of life, the problems of amalgamation disappear. If these conditions do not obtain, or if race prejudice is active, amalgamation is difficult. The whole matter hinges on assimilation, which is an educational problem and which will be treated after the political phases of Americanization have been considered. In summary, it may be said that without assimilation, it is impractical to discuss amalgamation, but that with assimilation nearly all the problems of amalgamation are dissolved.

PROBLEMS

1. What is a race?
2. Distinguish between race and nationality.
3. Why is a knowledge of ethnology necessary for doing Americanization work?
5. What is the main reason for thinking, as General Walker did, that immigration caused the decline in the native birth-rate?
6. Do you think that all races are potentially more or less equal?
7. Is the United States justified in excluding entire races?
8. What is the best way to undermine race prejudice?
9. What is the difference between race prejudice and race pride?
10. Explain: Race prejudice isolates both ways.
11. Do newspapers, in general, further or check race prejudice?
12. Which is more important, assimilation or amalgamation?

Chapter XX

POLITICAL PHASES OF AMERICANIZATION

The problem of political assimilation has steadily grown since 1885. Preceding that date, the majority of our foreign-born peoples had migrated from Northern and Western Europe where democracy was a common word and where democratic government was becoming a reality. Since 1885, the majority of the immigrants have come from countries where political democracy is not a common concept, and where the peasant peoples have had very little experience in making their own laws and obeying them. In addition, the immigrants who have arrived since 1885 have migrated from countries where illiteracy is common, and where educational advantages for the masses are still rare. Many immigrants have suffered greatly from autocratic government and economic spoliation. Hence, they bring a fear of government and economic oppression without being in a position readily to understand democracy or to help work out the concept.

The immigration laws of a nation represent that nation's crystallized reactions to the immigrant. In colonial days, several colonies passed immigration laws for self-protection. During the early years of the Republic, the individual states rather than the Federal Government took charge of immigration regulations.

In 1798, the Alien Bill was passed, establishing the

right of deportation. This right has become of increasing importance in recent years.

In 1820, manifests were required of ship-owners. The number of immigrants which a ship might bring was limited and the amount of food which must be carried for each passenger was stipulated. Thus, immigration figures were made available for the first time.

The native American movement assumed political importance about 1835. It was directed primarily against the Catholic immigrants from Ireland. It included provisions for limiting political offices to natives, and for denying citizenship to immigrants.

In 1838, seven members of Congress were appointed to investigate the question of pauper immigration. The recommendations of that first immigration commission included a head tax of twenty dollars an immigrant and a consular passport. No action was taken by the Federal Government, although various laws were passed by the states as a protection against the paupers who were being sent to our country, chiefly by British authorities.

The Native American Movement acquired new momentum about 1850, because of the large immigration from Ireland and Germany. The slogan was: America for Americans. Nativist propaganda died out, however, before the rising tide of anti-slavery agitation, which monopolized attention.

Congress passed a law in 1864 to encourage immigration. Contract labor was favored, and several companies were organized to deal in contract labor. The law, however, was repealed in 1868. In 1875, Congress passed an act prohibiting the immigration of

criminals, women for immoral purposes, and contract coolie labor. In the following year the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the efforts of states to regulate immigration and placed the power in the hands of Congress.

A general federal law was adopted in 1882. A head tax of fifty cents per immigrant was included in the law, and the administration of the law was placed under the supervision of the Treasury Department. In 1889, a second Congressional committee on immigration was appointed. The head tax was made one dollar in 1894, and two dollars in 1903. An educational test for admission was passed by Congress in 1896, but vetoed by President Cleveland.

The Bureau of Immigration was put, in 1903, under the direction of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and in 1907 in the hands of the Department of Labor. In the latter year the head tax was made four dollars; and in 1917, eight dollars. The income from the head tax is used in the maintenance of the immigration service. The surplus goes into the general funds of the Treasury Department. Since the immigrants pay the head tax, it would seem that the entire amount should be expended in immigration work. In fact, it might be argued that for every dollar which the alien immigrant pays in the form of head taxes, the United States should be willing to contribute an equal amount, and that the entire sum should be used in sound Americanization activities.

The immigration law of 1917 named about thirty classes of undesirable immigrants, and provided for their exclusion. These classes included paupers, mental defectives, polygamists, the tubercular, anarchists,

prostitutes, procurers, contract laborers, illiterates, and persons from a barred geographic zone.

The immigration law brings forward four pertinent questions: (1) Is the literary test sound? (2) Is the barred zone legislation correct? (3) Should there be more, or less restriction of immigration than now? (4) Is the fundamental basis of the immigration law scientific?

(1) In the rough, the literary test works fairly well, for it debars those who are most likely to be exploited, to suffer industrial accidents, to earn less than a living wage, to fall into a state of poverty, and to remain unassimilated. On the other hand, the literary test is not a criterion of personal worth, of potential ability, or of ultimate capacity for Americanization. It is a test, primarily, of lack of educational opportunities in the given European province from which the alien comes. It acts as a penalty for not having had educational advantages, but serves, however, as a stimulus to learn to read slightly. The objections are so vital that it seems that more scientific tests of admission should be substituted for the mere ability to read. Educational psychologists have prepared standardized tests for determining the individual's mental ability and his potential possibilities. As soon as these tests become perfected and modified so that they may be applied readily and reliably to large numbers of individuals, they should be substituted for the crude literary test.

(2) The barred zone is a region in the Eastern Hemisphere, designated in terms of latitude and longitude. Geographically and politically, it includes In-

dia, Siam, Indo-China, parts of Siberia, Afghanistan, and Arabia, and island territories such as Borneo, Java, Sumatra, New Guinea. A population of about 500,000,000 is included in the barred zone. As a temporary expedient, this method of immigrant prohibition works well. It serves the purpose for which it is intended. Ultimately and socially, it is unsatisfactory. Its implications are undemocratic, unsocial, and un-American. A better method than passing adverse judgment on peoples in a wholesale geographic way would be to set our standards high for admission on individuality, potentiality, and assimilability grounds.

(3) The principle of restriction of immigration is correct. The time came several decades ago when we could not admit all who wished to immigrate. We have so many poor people in the United States that we cannot longer invite the economically defeated classes of other countries. We have so many undemocratic features in our industrial system that immigrants and natives are sometimes oppressed in our land, and embittered. Consequently, we are no longer able freely to extend the hand of welcome to the unfortunate peoples of the world.

(4) The underlying principle of the immigration law is unscientific and negative. In particular, it contains about thirty "Thou shalt nots," or prohibits about thirty classes of peoples from entering. A more constructive procedure would be to designate who are desirable immigrants. This principle has been observed in the Canadian immigration law. The principle is positive, selective, and social, rather than negative, suppressive, and unsocial. It gains the same ends as the present method, but by superior methods.

In general, the requirements for admission to the United States should be made upon the basis of the needs of our country, the potential worth and potential ability of the immigrant, and international good will and democracy. Consideration must also be given to the opportunities and possibilities of becoming assimilated readily and of becoming Americanized. The test of assimilation appears to be sound. We can open our gates only to that number annually which we can assimilate and Americanize — otherwise Americanism will be subject to disintegration. If there are, for example, 1,000,000 Italian immigrants here and none are assimilated, then we cannot afford to admit others. But if all this number are assimilated then we shall be able to Americanize annually a certain percentage, ranging from perhaps five to fifteen per cent of this number, or 100,000 new immigrants per annum from Italy. This proposition is based upon the fact that an immigrant always comes to his own racial group. If the members of this group are not Americanized, the new immigrant's chances in that direction are slim; but if they have become true Americans, he will not be long in catching the spirit.

Our naturalization law dates back to 1790. At that time Congress used its constitutional privilege and provided for the naturalization of aliens. The naturalization period was made two years. This term was changed to fourteen years in 1795, and to its present length of five years in 1802.

In 1790, citizenship was extended to any alien who is a free white person, providing he can otherwise qualify. In 1870, naturalization was opened to persons of African nativity and of African descent. In other

words citizenship has been extended to Caucasians and Africans, but not to other peoples. It is open to the white and black races, but not to persons of the intermediate colors.

The five years preceding naturalization are often not a period of real preparation for citizenship. Oftentimes, the immigrant lives and works under destructive conditions, struggles ultimately through the naturalization process, submitting to a "dry-as-dust catechism" on the Constitution, and becomes a citizen without proper fixation of American principles and attachments.

There is need that the content of naturalization be improved and that some of the hardships which are imposed by the emphasis on forms be removed. It is often necessary that the immigrant appear in court twice in getting his papers of intention and twice in getting the final documents. Both times, in the latter case, he must have the same two witnesses. The loss of wages to himself and his witnesses is a significant matter. Wages ought not to be cut off when the employee is absent for purposes of becoming a citizen. Some courts hold night sessions for the benefit of the immigrant — a method which should be extended. Likewise, the bureaus of naturalization might well hold night sessions. The plan, also, is excellent whereby aliens may file their naturalization papers in the industrial plants where they work.

The diploma plan, such as that developed by C. C. Kelso of Los Angeles, provides for a three months night school course of training for citizenship. The diploma from this course is accepted by the naturalization judge in lieu of the usual more or less formal

examination. The training course for the immigrant gives a heart and content to citizenship.

Our standards for admission should be made higher and more scientific than at present. Then, we should open citizenship to all within the country, irrespective of race and color, to all who can meet the naturalization requirements, which, in turn, should be raised in content, but lowered in form. It is clearly unwise to admit immigrants to the country and then prevent them from becoming citizens and from assuming full responsibility in the affairs of the nation.

Upon entry into the country aliens should register, and keep the Bureau of Immigration informed of changes in address. Aliens who are intending to live in this country should be invited and given an opportunity to become citizens. By the use of factory classes, night classes, and home or cottage classes, the immigrant of either sex can steadily proceed on the road to assimilation and citizenship. Those who refuse to meet these requirements might be subject to deportation.

Upon receiving his naturalization papers, the immigrant should be made to swell with pride and to vow to himself to contribute something worth while to American ideals and practices. The Americanization Day plan may well be extended and standardized. According to this method which was first developed in 1914, one day of the year, usually the Fourth of July, is designated as Americanization Day. All persons who have become citizens within the preceding twelve months and who live in the given community are invited to come together at a public meeting, where leading native citizens extend the right hand of American

fellowship to them, where speeches of a patriotic nature are given by both old and new citizens, where all join in patriotic singing, and where the new citizens are made to feel the virile pulsations of the heart of America.

Americanization Day ceremonials give a new and wholesome content to our hitherto often meaningless and noisy Fourth of July celebrations. They have been successfully conducted in many American cities. It has been well suggested that the native-born who have reached the voting age during the twelve months preceding the Americanization Day should join in the exercises.

Our unscientific methods are shown in the way in which suffrage was granted to the women of New York in 1917. There were over 200,000 women in that state who were made citizens merely because their husbands were naturalized. Practically none of these women had received any training for citizenship. At least 100,000 of the new women citizens did not speak English. Many were unable to read and write. Very few were fitted to vote on national issues. The rational process of preparing persons to exercise the privileges of suffrage was ignored. A foreign-born woman should become an American citizen in her own thoughts and ideals, and not simply by marrying a man who is an American.

To further and supplement the work of the national government in the matter of political assimilation, several states have created immigration commissions, notably, Massachusetts and California. The California State Commission of Immigration and Housing, established in 1913, has done splendid Americanization

work in several fields. It had no definite precedents to follow; it was an experiment new in itself. Its fundamental principle is that an alien should not be asked to become a good American, by becoming worthy of his surroundings until those surroundings should be made worthy of a good American. The Commission has established a Bureau of Complaints, a Bureau of Labor Camp Inspection, a Bureau of Housing, a Bureau of Immigrant Education.

The Federal Government has the Bureau of Immigration, the Bureau of Naturalization, and the Bureau of Education, each with its Americanization activities. In addition to performing supervisory and executive work, the Federal Bureaus are publishing valuable documents on various phases of Americanization.

Another important political phase of Americanization is found in the community organization movement. "A man learns to be a good citizen by being a good citizen." Therefore, neighborhood organizations are politically and socially valuable for they provide the immigrant with opportunities to participate in a democratic organization before he becomes a citizen. By organizing, and participating in, democratic communmunity groups, the foreign-born peoples in immigrant districts may train themselves in democracy and catch the "feel" of a democratic conscience. They may acquire sound concepts of democracy and they may learn to live democratically — which is the essence of political Americanization.

PROBLEMS

1. Define an alien.
2. What is the main objection to a head tax?
3. In what way is a barred zone for immigration undemocratic?
4. What is your attitude toward the literacy test?
5. What is the main reason for admitting immigrants to the United States?
6. Wherein lies the strength of the diploma plan of naturalization?
7. In what permanent way is American opinion expressed toward the immigrant?
8. What is the basic problem in the relation of recent immigration to democratic government?
9. May an unnaturalized alien vote for president of the United States?
10. What is the chief weakness of the naturalization law?
11. Why was immigration legislation removed from the jurisdiction of the individual states?
12. Does Americanization in any sense mean denationalization to the immigrant?
13. Contrast Americanization with Prussianization.
14. What is the chief significance of Americanization Day?
15. Wherein is the merit of community organization as a phase of political Americanization?
16. Until immigrants are naturalized, are they the guests of the nation?

Chapter XXI

EDUCATIONAL PHASES OF AMERICANIZATION

The educational phases of Americanization arise out of ignorance and illiteracy. First of all, native Americans are ignorant of the full meaning of Americanism. They are not agreed regarding the nature of American ideals. There are many native Americans who are not Americanized in the constructive sense of the term. Others have never put genuine Americanism into Americanization.

Native Americans are often ignorant of the cultures, traditions, and ideals which the immigrants bring. They are unversed in the best Americanization technique. They are prone to censure or condemn the immigrant without first finding out what is in the immigrant's backgrounds. They fail too frequently in living the principles of democracy in their daily contacts with the immigrant.

In a Federal Department of Education, the Bureau of Americanization should become the most important division. One of the first tasks of a Bureau of Americanization is to make a careful survey of the history and nature of Americanism. The constructive principles thus far worked out in American history must be determined, the character of present-day American ideals must be analyzed, and the positive and best tendencies conserved and promulgated. The United States must consciously plan her progress, on the basis

of past and present experiences and future outlook, along democratic and socialized lines. And as every practical business man projects his business policy into the future, so may American standards — in the light of world needs — be projected and followed up.

To these ends, we need continuously to educate ourselves. The public schools, the churches, the press, and motion pictures are the leading media for carrying the details of sound Americanism to the people. Americanization must begin with the average American. The rank and file of the native-born are inadequately versed in the meaning of our ideals of liberty, union, democracy, and brotherhood. The teaching of American history needs to set forth the evolving principles of democratic American life. The study of American literature may well be made from the standpoint of the principles of democracy and required of every public school pupil. American literature is an excellent mirror of the rise and growth of our national life. The entire country may well study American ideals as set forth all the way from Captain John Smith to Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson.

Our whole system of public and private instruction needs to be permeated with such corollaries of democracy as these:

1. The sacredness of sound family life.
2. Private gain only when in harmony with public welfare.
3. The social necessity of honesty and purity in thought and action.
4. The wholesomeness of spiritual idealism and esthetic realism.

5. The superiority of quality to quantity and and of thoroughness to speed.
6. The operation of justice and love between individuals.
7. The richest development possible of personalities.
8. The potential equality of races.
9. The harmfulness and hatefulness of race prejudice.
10. The subordination of the individual and the family to public needs, and of the nation to world needs.

Americanization means doing democracy. It means that native Americans should do democracy in their relationships with one another. It means that they should do democracy in their private and public connections with the Indian, with the Negro, and with the mountaineer. It means that they should do democracy in all their associations with the immigrants.

The need for Americanization arises, in part, from the ignorance and illiteracy of the foreign-born. The illiteracy of certain immigrants has been high, for example, the Portuguese, South Italians, Turks, Syrians, Ruthenians have shown an illiteracy of about 50 per cent. The illiteracy of other immigrants, such as the Lithuanians, Serbians, Russians, Poles, Greeks has been over 25 per cent. In a single year as many as 200,000 illiterate aliens have entered our country. But illiteracy is almost as great a problem among the native-born as among immigrants. We have literally millions of illiterate persons in the country who cannot read or write.

Illiteracy is a sign. It signifies a low economic status. It implies prejudices. It means a lack of appreciation of democracy. It brings on exploitation. It is a basis for radicalism. It breeds diseases. It creates the need for education and Americanization — on the part of both immigrants and natives.

An elaborate but uncorrelated technique for meeting the educational needs, particularly of immigrants, but also of natives, is in process of development in the United States. The basic element is the teaching of English. The English to non-English speaking peoples movement has acquired considerable momentum. Unfortunately, many persons believe that teaching English is the main phase of Americanization. But it should be remembered that the English language simply prepares for Americanization. If an immigrant learns English but in the meantime is exploited by native Americans, he will not learn to love America.

Furthermore, to suppress the use of all languages in the United States except the English will hinder rather than help Americanization. When you strike at the language of a person, you strike at his feelings, his mother tongue, his childhood memories. The importance of English cannot be made too manifest. The value of English should be made so clear that all who do not know it should be stimulated to want to learn it. Then, the use of other languages will tend to decrease.

The use of the English language cannot be made compulsory, and foreign languages cannot be easily suppressed. Prussia attempted to make common the German language, and to suppress the Polish language, but in so doing created 4,000,000 belligerent Polish

subjects. Russia attempted similar arbitrary measures, and created 10,000,000 outlaws. Hungary insisted that the Slovaks speak only the Magyar language, and turned her Slovak subjects into enemies. Let Americanization beware of the evils of Prussianization, Russianization, and Magyarization.

We may even learn to consider the foreign languages of immigrants as valuable assets. They are open sesames to the vast and varied cultures of the world. America should utilize these important factors of enlightenment. A nation whose people speak but one language is narrow. But what shall we say of a nation that has all the languages of the world brought to it, and then suppresses them? Shall we spend millions of dollars annually in teaching foreign languages, and then turn about and attempt to suppress these languages when brought to us?

"English First," is a logical slogan. The proofs are manifold. A common medium of communication is essential to the development of unity in and loyalty to the nation. The learning of English, however, cannot be forced. It can be furthered best through persuasion and conviction. Educators are agreed that it is wisest to make clear to the immigrants that English is to be a language additional to the one which they already know; and that by learning English they may "come closer to their children, retain their confidence and respect and thus avert the frequent domestic tragedy of the foreign home"; that without English they are dependent upon their children for guidance and interpretation whenever they leave their homes. They should know, also, that English will reduce their liability to industrial accidents, to exploitation, and to

disease; that it will enable them to increase the number and quality of their friendships, and develop their best personalities; and that it will put them in position to render the largest possible service to their fellow countrymen in their adopted country.

Inasmuch as there are many pamphlets available on the subject of methods of teaching English to the foreign-born only brief attention will be given to that subject here. The adult pupils should often be divided into two or three grades. If dull and bright or beginning and advanced pupils are left together, the dull become discouraged and cease to attend. The bright become disgusted and likewise discontinue attending the class.

The question may be raised: Should the teacher be able to speak the language of the foreign-born adult pupil? If he does, he and they possess an important bond of sympathetic understanding which is invaluable. On the other hand, if he speaks only English, the pupils will need to make a special effort to understand — an exertion which will expedite the process of learning the English language.

There are two main methods of teaching a foreign language: the indirect, or grammar-translation method; and the indirect, or the observation-dramatic method. The former has been used widely in teaching Latin and Greek, and modern languages in high schools and colleges. It is more or less discredited. The latter is used extensively in teaching English to the foreign-born. It was developed by Francois Gouin about 1888. The pupil repeats expressions and performs acts. The method is dramatic. It teaches through observation and performance.

Peter Roberts was the first person to adapt the Gouin method to teaching English to immigrants in the United States. He stressed the importance of teaching from the standpoint of the immigrant's daily experiences. The teacher may bring to the class, for example, a small hatchet, a stick of wood, a block, and a basket, and then proceed to teach English through a lesson in building a fire.

C. C. DeWitt has modified the Gouin system by introducing a vocabulary for workers in a factory. In fact, there is a large number of adaptations of the Gouin system. Moreover, there ought to be as many adaptations as teachers and classes. No one method need be slavishly followed.

The teaching of grammar should follow the teaching of language and of writing. The alphabet may be taught as a part of the writing lessons. The teaching of English sounds requires exhibitions by the teacher of how to make these sounds correctly, followed by concert drills. Concert work is the ideal, supplemented by special attention to individual pupils who have special difficulties. For beginners, the printed page need not necessarily be used, because the natural way of learning to speak a language is through observation and the ear rather than by the text book.

Excursions often supplement class work splendidly, enabling the teacher to objectify many terms which otherwise would remain obscure. The best teacher combines all these methods according to the needs of the class. She centers her teaching upon the everyday life of the immigrants. Best of all, she exemplifies in her own actions and ideals a democratic, socialized, American spirit.

The teacher needs to have a knowledge of pedagogy, psychology, and sociology. She needs to know the traditions and problems in the minds of immigrant pupils. After all, the personality of the teacher is possibly the most important factor in the whole situation. The teaching of English to the foreign-born is only an educational beginning. The classes in English should lead to courses in American history and civics. These may lead to naturalization and constitute a part of the diploma plan of naturalization. They may also co-ordinate well with immigrant participation in community organization and public life.

The night school is a first-class Americanization institution. It gives immigrants an opportunity to learn English and the nature of citizenship; to come in contact with sympathetic teachers and learn Americanism at its best; and to participate democratically in the social and community life of the neighborhood.

The night school teachers have usually been "day" teachers who have undertaken evening classes in addition to an already full schedule of work. They often meet the evening classes in a tired state of mind, and because of the night work have gone in a fatigued condition to the work of the next day. Hence, it is not surprising that the nerve strain becomes great. Further, they have had to teach adults in the evening classes who themselves are fatigued from having put in a full day's work. The night school teacher should have only part daytime work, and be able to come to her evening classes, full of resourcefulness, and supported by special training in the nature of Americanization, of immigrant backgrounds, and of the latest teaching technique.

Night schools are praiseworthy, but do not afford a fair opportunity to the immigrant to learn. After a man has labored during the day at monotonous, tiresome work, the fatigue toxins have tired the brain. Only the exceptional individuals among unskilled men have enough initiative left to attend school at night. Further, the night school method carries the implication that the physical work which the unskilled immigrant can do is the thing of paramount importance, and that the immigrant's mental and spiritual development is secondary. If the choice could be made of giving the unlettered immigrant the poorest or the best hour of the day in order to secure his training in citizenship, the best hour should be his, not only for his sake but for the nation's sake as well.

In order that nearly all workers may be reached, it is necessary for the school to go to the factory. According to this method, the immigrant worker may be given a half hour per day without wage-reduction, whereby under the direction of public school teachers who go to the shops, he may study English and citizenship. The public school system furnishes the teachers and the equipment; and the employers, the space, artificial light, their co-operative interest, and perhaps one-half hour of the time of men without reducing wages. Employers are learning that such welfare work is economically profitable. It reduces industrial accidents, decreases cost of supervising immigrant employees, raises the efficiency of these employees, increases the employees' length of employment by a given employer, and decreases their subserviency to foreign-spirited leaders. It is also patriotic.

According to the DeWitt-Ford plan, industrial

teachers rather than public school teachers are used. The industrial teacher is chosen from the employees of the given firms. Men who have ever had any teaching experience or who think that they have teaching ability are brought together in the factory and given a short training course in teaching English and Americanization. This course lasts for ten or twelve weeks and meets for two hours each day. It is an honor for a man to be chosen from his department for Americanization work. The industrial teacher has many things in common with the pupils, such as the same employer, the same hours of work, the same pay day, the same environment, and the same legal holidays. The weaknesses of the plan are those inherent in volunteer teaching and in incomplete training of teachers.

Whatever may be the situation concerning the industrial teacher, it is clear that factory classes meet a need that the night school cannot fill. Factory classes, however, face several difficulties, such as inadequate classroom facilities, the lack of interest of many employers and the opposition of others, the high percentage of labor turnover and also of population turnover, the indifference of employees. The solution of these problems lies in the direction of the appointment of industrial plant directors of Americanization who will readily co-operate with the directors of Americanization of the public schools.

It is wise to supplement the Americanization work for adult immigrant men by similar activity in behalf of the women. Other things being equal, the mother is the most important single factor in the training of children. Likewise, the immigrant mother is the most important single factor in Americanization, and yet

thus far, the immigrant mothers have been the most neglected elements in the entire Americanization field.

As a rule, adult foreign-born women cannot attend night classes, because of being too tired, of caring for young children, of having husbands who will not permit them to attend night school. It is necessary, therefore, to organize classes for them whenever and wherever they can gather together in small groups. Morning and afternoon classes in school buildings, and cottage classes and home teachers serve well the interests of the foreign-born mothers. The best plan is to arrange classes to suit the convenience of the adult women, and then to supplement the class work by individual instruction in the homes. It may even be wise to organize clubs in sewing, cooking, or marketing, and utilize these interests as means of teaching English.

Two principles apply here, as in all phases of Americanization teaching of adults, first, the necessity of taking the school to the places where immigrants can easily gather, and second, the necessity of substituting the fraternal for the academic atmosphere. In illustration of the last point, it may be said that the class room for adults should be cleared of desks and provided with tables around which the immigrant groups may gather. Immigrant mothers, especially, are frequently timid, but the tabular seating arrangement quickly generates freedom of expression and thought.

The home teacher aids the mothers in their own homes, helping them to solve the daily problems of caring for children, of household management, of being good neighbors and citizens. The need for home teachers is very great. The child has his school contacts, the father his industrial contacts, but the foreign-

born mother has almost no contacts with genuine Americanism. It is imperative that the entire immigrant family be educated simultaneously, so that they may advance together.

Neighborhood schools, like social settlements, have long been successful Americanization institutions. The neighborhood school is a social institution which aims to understand and meet all the needs (save the religious) of all the people of a congested urban district. They serve inexpensive lunches, meet clothing needs, render legal assistance, teach hygiene and sanitation, and emphasize family and national loyalties. They serve as social service clearing houses for the community. They are recreation and community organization centers. Indirectly, if not directly, they are Americanization Houses. Although they are unable to do much at righting fundamental economic wrongs, they are essentially big brothers to all, to both foreign-born and native-born, to both the oldest and the youngest. They also foster the spirit of self-help and of getting the people of the neighborhood to meet their own needs as far as possible.

At this point the Americanization significance of the kindergarten may be stated. The kindergarten reaches the immigrant child before the regular school does; it influences him at a very impressionable age; it inculcates habits of honesty, courtesy, democracy, and also teaches American ideals.

The stereopticon is a useful factor in teaching immigrants. By the use of slides, words may be objectified. By using slides a considerable amount of valuable concert work can be done. Reading lessons can be put on the screen. Hence, instead of the pupils being con-

fined to individual books or copies, all may read from the screen. "All eyes are directed toward the same point on the screen, and the teacher is enabled to carry along a class of 40 pupils as well as one, with the further advantage that all members of the class are following, and all profit by the mistakes and success of the one who is reciting." The stereopticon is also useful in teaching American ideals to immigrants. By this method it is possible to illustrate easily to the class some of the historic places and events in American history, from which Americanism has received its most concrete meanings.

The motion picture is vitally related to Americanization. It is used extensively by the commercial "movie" for illustrating various phases of American life. Unfortunately, the films which deal with sex abnormalities, financial crookedness, extravagant living, and other anti-social practices predominate. It is much to be feared that the motion picture is greater as a disintegrating than as a constructive force in Americanization. Special attention, however, is being given to the production of worthy Americanization films, such as "The Foundation of Citizenship," "The Teaching of English to Foreigners," "The Immigrant," and "An American in the Making." The constructive possibilities of the motion picture under the direction of community leadership are almost unlimited for the cause of Americanization.

The phonograph may serve Americanization. The teacher can use it to supplement her work. It is "free from nervousness and irritation, and never grows impatient. A lesson may be reviewed a hundred times, if necessary, without exciting the displeasure of any-

one." The phonograph is also valuable for carrying American tunes, songs, and hymns into immigrant homes.

There is a genuine need for the training of teachers for Americanization. Normal schools and colleges are beginning to offer training courses in Americanization, English for the Foreign-Born, and related subjects. Training in field work should include at least three hours a week of practice teaching of adults for several months under careful supervision. As a rule, it is better to select experienced teachers who can make wholesome contacts with adult immigrants quickly and without creating embarrassments; who can command the good will of immigrants; and who can secure their co-operation. Successful Americanization teachers are difficult to find, and even more difficult to train. Individuals cannot be made into Americanization teachers *en masse;* they must undergo a process of selection and of special training.

Racial segregation in the schools constitutes a special problem. The parents of American born children often object to the presence in the class-room of foreign-born or colored children. The objections grow strong if the foreign-born or colored child is several years older than the age of the normal child for the given grade. The solution rests in arranging special classes and work for distinctly abnormal pupils. It is pathetic, for example, to see a twelve year old boy, whether foreign-born or native, following the first grade schedule. Such a lad needs manual training and beginning lessons in English.

Sometimes the foreign-born children outnumber the other work for twelve year old boys along with his

native-born in a given grade. In this event it is natural that the parents of the American children protest vigorously. No child feels at home where the preponderance of influence is contrary to the influence exerted by his own type. This rule applies to a minority of either foreign-born or native-born children. If segregation must occur, it ought to take place upon a non-English-speaking or a retardation basis rather than upon racial grounds.

Another point which needs careful attention is that when a school geographically becomes a racial school it should not be neglected. Schools in foreign districts either in cities or in the country are apt to have inadequate play space and apparatus, to be poorly located, and to be allowed to remain distinctly un-American in appearance and maintenance. From an Americanization standpoint, such schools need an exceptional degree of attention, both financial and pedagogical.

Another vital element in the educational technique of Americanization is represented by lecture courses, similar to the one which was inaugurated by the Immigration Department of the Young Men's Christian Association of San Francisco in 1918. The lecturers on Americanization were not the native-born but the foreign-born leaders. The Jugo-Slav, Greek, Japanese, Italian, Jewish, Russian, Portuguese, Armenian, and Scandinavian races were thus represented. As exceptions, the speakers for the Chinese and the Mexicans were Americans. The chief interest was not what these foreign-born groups needed from America but what they possessed of value that they could build into Americanism. The philanthropic desire to help the poor immigrant is reported as being refreshingly ab-

sent. Fortunately, the patronizing tone toward the immigrant, which is so common among would-be Americanization workers, was omitted. Its place was taken by the immigrant's desire to be self-reliant and to give as well as receive. The impression grew that even Americans who had been talking of Americanization might profitably give more of their time "to broadening the minds of our American adults and children," until no one was left who conceived Americanization as an imposition of American ideals upon the racial groups who come to give and to share. It became apparent that a phase of Americanization consists of "a distillation of the purest ideals of all those peoples who come to us."

The foreign language newspapers have been the center of heated discussions. The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers is a corporation of more than 1500 foreign language newspapers and with more than 12,000,000 readers. The chief aim of this association is "to help preserve the ideals and sacred doctrines of this our adopted country, the United States of America." But the editorial influence of the foreign language newspaper is small. The indirect influence in behalf of racial loyalty, however, is strong.

The foreign language newspaper is read by adult immigrants, but not to a great extent by their children. It keeps alive home ties and is a source of much satisfaction. Its weaknesses are largely those of the average American newspaper. As an institution, the foreign language newspaper probably does not exert as disintegrating an influence upon American life as do many American newspapers which regularly play up for the public the latest divorce and other scandals,

and which unwittingly create mistrust in and disgust with American life. It would be unwise to suppress the foreign language newspaper by fiat. Without it, hundreds of thousands of adult immigrants would be cut off from all printed communication with the world.

During the World War the foreign language newspapers were the most important avenues by which the Federal Government reached the masses of the foreign-born people in this country. This experience indicates that in peace times the foreign language newspapers may be widely serviceable as Americanization agencies. They can be utilized by our Government as a means for teaching the importance of learning English, and for presenting American ideals. The suggestion is excellent that the government maintain a special news service for the foreign language newspapers, presenting current developments and changes in American life, and conveying information to the immigrants which will enable them to make the proper adjustments to American conditions.

Education in Americanism may well begin on the steerage. Talks and illustrated lectures concerning the United States, the English language, the nature and value of American money, and the types and conditions of work in the United States should be given. Thus, the immigrant will be enabled to take a stride toward understanding the United States, even before he arrives; and to protect himself, upon arrival, from exploitation. He will be assisted in making constructive adjustments; he will be prevented from suffering certain disappointments.

The advantages of public libraries as Americanization institutions are not generally appreciated. They

appeal to old and young. They are open the entire year. They furnish reading materials in many languages. They provide a common meeting ground for natives and immigrants. They are social, not commercial, in spirit. They are democratic. They appeal to the immigrants through their collections of paintings, their musicals, their story hours, their kindly service.

The indirect influence of a constructive American environment cannot be over-estimated. If we protect the immigrant from exploitation and insist on better standards of living, of sanitation, of recreation, of education for him, he will almost automatically become a good American. The public must see the need of giving the honest but unlearned immigrant a social handshake, sympathetic glances of the eye, and full opportunities for a self-expression that is in harmony with the best American principles.

If we will give the immigrant a cordial welcome, a practical fraternalism, and democratic opportunities in our work-day world, he will give his all to America. As a class, the immigrants are teachable and patriotic. Often they appreciate better than we the meaning of freedom. When they learn about Americanism at its best, they repudiate autocracy and enlist in the cause of democracy.

Although the importance of religion as a force in Americanization has been emphasized in an earlier chapter, the significance of religious education deserves special comment. If religion is a vital force in human life, as is generally believed, then its promulgation through the churches needs to be supported by the schools. The public educational forces must face

squarely the problem, and introduce adequate training in the fundamentals of religion throughout the public schools. Public education should assist in turning the tide whereby hundreds of thousands of immigrants are losing their religious faith in the United States, and becoming along with irreverent natives, a source of fundamental instability.

One of the greatest educational tasks of Americanization is to overcome race prejudice. In Chapter Nineteen, the problem was stated in its racial aspects. Educationally, race prejudice can be conquered. It is true that each racial unit develops the unscientific belief that it is the superior race —"and each race is wrong." The truth is that each race may be superior in one or more particulars but inferior to other races in several particulars. Only education and the spirit of Christian love can conquer race prejudice. Inasmuch as present racial differences are due largely to variations in cultural and climatic environments, education and love will bring out and develop the underlying unity of the races. Only education can keep the individual from being blind to the weaknesses of his own race and from magnifying the weaknesses of other races. Only education and love can prevent the individual from ignoring the best qualities of other races and from calling the ideal of a brotherhood of man mere moonshine. Race prejudice against the foreigner, race prejudice between racial groups of the foreign-born, race prejudice against the native-born can all be overcome by education and love.

The Americanization of the foreign-born is largely an indirect process. Americanization, as a term, arouses suspicions. An American in Italy, for example, would

object to a blare of trumpets announcing that all Americans were going to be subjected to an Italianization program. He might, however, through kindly treatment, and brotherly attention and opportunities learn to love Italy and to want to become a citizen of Italy. It is in similar terms that we must think and act with reference to the Italian, or any other group of immigrants in the United States.

Americanization is not a process to be left in the hands of Americanization workers as a class, or even in the hands of public educators. Employers, landlords, and their agents, may render, if they will, tremendous and fundamental aid to the cause of Americanization, or they may through the use of exploitation, injustice, and hypocrisy offset the good that nearly all other persons can do in behalf of immigrants. Americanization is a responsibility and an opportunity which comes to everyone who is a citizen of the United States. The best principle of procedure is to begin, not with the weaknesses, but with the good will and intelligence of immigrants. The immigrants, also, must bear a part of the responsibility and share in the opportunity of becoming true Americans — they must will to become good Americans. The process of Americanization, then depends upon good will, social attitudes, and co-operation, patient and understanding effort upon the part of all who live in the United States.

PROBLEMS

1. What is meant by assimilation?
2. Why should the immigrant learn the English language?
3. What is even more important for an immigrant than learning English?
4. Why must the successful teacher of English to the foreign-born be unusually inventive?
5. Why is the term *English to Foreigners,* an objectionable title for a text book?
6. What would you do the first day with a class of twenty-five non-English speaking adults?
7. What are the dangers of too much emphasis upon Americanization?
8. Can an immigrant be Americanized too quickly?
9. Why is Americanization of the immigrant an exceedingly delicate psychological and sociological process?
10. Why is it that immigrants cannot be Americanized by force?
11. Why should Americanization be made attractive rather than compulsory?
12. What is meant by putting Americanism into Americanization?
13. Should there be courses in Americanization in the secondary schools?
14. When will Americanization be completed?
15. In what ways can you personally assist in Americanization work?

APPENDIX A

BRIEF ORIGINAL STATEMENTS OF AMERICAN IDEALS

For the convenience of teachers, students, and speakers, a group of brief original statements of American ideals by twenty-two representative American spokesmen has been selected and brought together here in convenient form. The chronological arrangement of these source materials makes it possible to study the changes in and the development of American ideals. A brief analysis of each of the thirty-one excerpts is given in the form of footnotes.

The chronological list of American Ideals is as follows:

In 1614 by John Smith.
In 1620 by the Pilgrim Fathers.
In 1635 by John Winthrop.
In 1757 by Benjamin Franklin.
In 1775 by Patrick Henry.
In 1776 by Thomas Jefferson.
In 1796 by George Washington.
In 1801 by Thomes Jefferson.
In 1823 by James Monroe.
In 1830 by Daniel Webster.
In 1843 by William Lloyd Garrison.
In 1852 by John Greenleaf Whittier.
In 1858, 1861, 1863, 1865, by Abraham Lincoln.
In 1876 by Bayard Taylor.

In 1878 by Ralph Waldo Emerson.
In 1880 by Phillips Brooks.
In 1884 by James Russell Lowell.
In 1895 by Booker T. Washington.
In 1896 by Franklin H. Giddings.
In 1899 by William Jennings Bryan.
In 1900 by John Dewey.
In 1905 by Theodore Roosevelt.
In 1909 by Jane Addams.
In 1912, 1915, by Theodore Roosevelt.
In 1915, 1917, 1918, 1919, by Woodrow Wilson.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1614

By John Smith[1]

Who can desire more content, that hath small means, or only his merit to advance his fortune, than to tread, and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue and magnanimittie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant than planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by God's blessing and his own industrie, without prejudice to any? If he have any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can he doe lesse hurtful to any, or more agreeable to God, than seeke to convert those poore savages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines?

[1]Captain John Smith is the first American writer of note; first extensive American explorer; first to understand the Indians; first to make a statement of American ideals. The reader will recognize the adventuresome note, the Christian faith, humanitarian principles, British loyalty, and cosmopolitan outlook.

What so truly sutes with honour and honesty as the discovering things unknowne, erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue; and gaine to our Native mother countrie a kingdom to attend her; finde employment for those that are idle because they know not what to doe; so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posterie to remember thee, and remembering thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1620

By the Pilgrim Fathers[2]

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread soveraeigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland king, defender of ye faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of ye Christian faith and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant, and combine ourselves togeather into a civill body politick; for our better ordering, and preservation and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute,

[2]This compact of the Pilgrim Fathers which was made on board the Mayflower is noteworthy for three reasons. (1) It proceeds from religious foundations. (2) It represents a search for more individual liberty within the British Empire. (3) It establishes a political government that is controlled by just and equal laws and not by the caprice of governor and ruler.

and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11 of November in ye year of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie-fourth.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1635.

By John Winthrop[3]

There is a two-fold liberty, natural and civil, or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists; it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts: *omnes sumus licentia deteriores.* . . . .

The other kind of liberty I call civil, or federal. It may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions among men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority,

[3]In this exposition by John Winthrop, first governor of the Massachusetts Colony, the first comprehensive analysis of American liberty is found. Natural liberty is repudiated and civil or social liberty is defended on the grounds of strict morality and religion.

and cannot exist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard, not only of your goods but of your lives if need be. . . .

If you stand for your natural corrupt liberties, and will do what is good in your own eyes, you will not endure the least weight of authority, but will murmur, and oppose, and be always striving to shake off that yoke; but if you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your good. . . . So shall your liberties be preserved, in upholding the honor and power of authority amongst you.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1757

By Benjamin Franklin[4]

Sloth like rust, consumes faster than labor wears.

He that riseth late must trot all day.

He that hath a trade hath an estate, and he that hath a calling hath an office of profit and honor.

Diligence is the mother of good luck.

One to-day is worth two to-morrows.

The cat in gloves catches no mice.

Little strokes fell great oaks.

[4]This statement of Americanism, taken from *Poor Richard's Almanac,* is a unique expression of the industrial ideals of the nation in its formative decades. The present generation, however, has veered away from these common sense proverbs and the industrial morale of the United States is undergoing a change.

If you would have your business done, go; if not, send.

Beware of little expenses; a small leak will sink a great ship.

'Tis hard for an empty bag to stand upright.

Creditors have better memories than debtors.

Rather go to bed supperless than rise in debt.

What is a butterfly? At best
He's but a caterpillar drest.

For age and want, save while you may,
No morning sun lasts a whole day.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1775

By Patrick Henry[5]

They tell us, sir, that we are weak,— unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive

[5]In this fiery speech, Patrick Henry crystallizes the two-fold change in political sentiment that had taken place in the century and a half which followed the signing of the "Mayflower" compact. In the first place, the colonists had become convinced that it was futile longer to seek political liberty within the confines of the British Empire. In the second place, the colonists had been exasperated beyond measure and had forgotten all else save the ideal, namely, liberty.

phantom of Hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active and the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable. And let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1776

By Thomas Jefferson[6]

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.— That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,— That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer,

[6]This preamble shows the distance that the colonists had traveled in the fifteen months which had followed Patrick Henry's "Liberty or Death" speech. Inchoate revolutionary ideas had assumed a fixed and dignified form. In the generalizations by Jefferson, the revolutionary impulses became a set of high-minded principles.

while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1787

By the Makers of the Constitution[7]

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this *Constitution* for the United States of America.

[7]Eleven stormy years had passed since the Declaration of Independence was announced. Notice the new social and co-operative terminology that is used for the first time: "We, the people of the United States." Observe the new principle that is given expression—a perfect Union is necessary in order that the liberties of the individual may be safe.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1796.

By George Washington[8]

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. . . .

This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit

[8]In the Farewell Address, Washington indicated how American attention had advanced from seeking liberty, *per se*, to building a union of sufficient strength to endure, and yet not so powerful that it would necessarily curb individual liberty in any way. Washington pointed out the four essential corner-stones for such a national structure: (1) respect for law; (2) religion and morality; (3) educational institutions; and (4) justice towards but no permanent alliance with other nations.

and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. . . .

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality the indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with public and private felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles. . . .

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened. . . .

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too

novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. . . .

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. . . . Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice? . . . Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1801

By Thomas Jefferson[9]

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle but not all its limitations:

Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political:

[9]In this address which was given at the first inauguration of Thomas Jefferson and at the dawn of the nineteenth century, there is the most complete, comprehensive, and condensed statement that is available of the principles upon which our Republic was founded. Herein is found the famous phrase, "entangling alliances with none," which is popularly attributed to Washington.

Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none:

The support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies:

The preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad:

A jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided:

Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism:

A well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war until regulars may relieve them:

The supremacy of the civil over the military authority:

Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened:

The honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith:

Encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaid:

The diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason:

Freedom of religion:

Freedom of the press:

And freedom of person under the protection of the *Habeas Corpus,* and trial by juries impartially selected.

These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through the age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust, and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1823

By James Monroe[10]

In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial

[10]In 1823, the President of the United States found himself in a dilemma regarding an international problem that had long caused the nation considerable anxiety. Should the United States permit the nations of Europe to spread the ideals of autocracy on the American continent, and thus court war; or should she somewhat presumptuously bar them from further colonization on this side of the Atlantic, and thereby invite their secret and jealous enmity? President Monroe rightly decided that the nation would be safer with opponents at a distance than to have them entrenched near at hand.

observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments; and to the defense of our own which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we would not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1830

By Daniel Webster[11]

I profess, Sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influence, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

I have not allowed myself, Sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself

[11]Thirty years had passed since the establishment of the Republic. Individualism and individualistic liberty still held primary sway in American life. It was a keen appreciation of the dangers ahead of an overemphasis upon individual liberty which brought forth the eloquent eulogy of the Union from the heart and mind of Webster.

to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that, in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind!

When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched it may be in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterward"; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment dear to every true American heart,— Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1843

By William Lloyd Garrison[12]

They tell me, Liberty! that in thy name
I may not plead for all the human race;
That some are born to bondage and disgrace,
Some to a heritage of woe and shame,
And some to power supreme, and glorious fame:
With my whole soul I spurn the doctrine base,
And, as an equal brotherhood, embrace
All people, and for all fair freedom claim!
Know this, O man! whate'er thy earthly fate —
God never made a tyrant nor a slave:
Woe, then, to those who dare to desecrate
His glorious image! — for to all He gave
Eternal rights, which none may violate;
And, by a mighty hand, the oppressed He yet shall save!

[12]The humanitarian basis of the impassioned addresses of Garrison and of his fellow abolitionists marks the rise of a definite and comprehensive social consciousness in the United States. It was a social consciousness that finally extended the meaning of liberty to, and struck the shackles from, the Negro slave.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1852

By John Greenleaf Whittier[13]

The proudest now is but my peer,
The highest not more high;
Today, of all the weary year,
A king of men am I.
Today alike are great and small,
The nameless and the known;
My palace is the peoples' hall,
The ballot-box my throne!

Who serves today upon the list
Beside the served shall stand;
Alike the brown and wrinkled fist,
The gloved and dainty hand!
The rich is level with the poor,
The weak is strong today;
And sleekest broadcloth counts no more
Than homespun frock of gray.

Today let pomp and vain pretence
My stubborn right abide;
I set a plain man's common sense
Against the pedant's pride.

[13]Above all things else, John Greenleaf Whittier was democratic. The virile abolitionist points out in this poem on "The Poor Voter on Election Day," the strength of democracy. On election day the vote of the humblest is as mighty as that of the mightiest. As long as the ballot box is kept open to all, there is no cause for revolution. But since the time of Whittier, voting has become complex and difficult, and furthermore, between election days the average citizen has little opportunity to know what is going on politically.

Today shall simple manhood try
The strength of gold and land;
The wide world has not wealth to buy
The power in my right hand!

While there's a grief to seek redress,
Or balance to adjust,
Where weighs our living manhood less
Than Mammon's vilest dust,—
While there's a right to need my vote,
A wrong to sweep away,
Up! clouted knee and ragged coat!
A man's a man today!

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1858

By Abraham Lincoln[14]

If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have

[14]The question of granting liberty to the Negro at last became inextricably entangled with that other fundamental but entirely different question of the strength of the Union. The first great opening speech of the final struggle between the Abolitionists and Unionists on one hand, and the Slavery adherents and the Secessionists on the other hand was delivered by Lincoln, in Springfield, Illinois, on June 16, 1858. On this occasion, Lincoln rested his decision on the belief in the nation as an indivisible social unit.

been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1861

By Abraham Lincoln[15]

Labor is prior to, and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits.

[15]Lincoln made this famous pronouncement upon the relative importance of labor and capital in the days before capitalism became powerful in the United States. This pronouncement is taken from the Emancipator's first presidential address to Congress. He was speaking on the subject of slave labor, but even so, he made labor superior to capital—an ideal which undoubtedly the majority of Americans still cherish.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1863

By Abraham Lincoln[16]

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any other nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave

[16]It is in crises that great decisions are made and immortal sentiments are expressed. War is such a crisis. A civil war is a crisis that is especially heart-rending because the opposing forces are often of the same blood and possessed of kindred interests. The greatest sentiment which came out of our Civil War was voiced by Lincoln in his Gettysburg speech when he gave a new definition to democracy.

the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1865

By Abraham Lincoln[17]

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war; while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. . . . Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills it that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The

[17]The conqueror in war is tempted to become puffed up, vainglorious, and lordly. But it was not so with Lincoln. The United States will never cease to praise the spirit which prompted Lincoln at the victorious close of the Civil War to say, "With malice toward none, with charity for all." Nothing more Christian, and nothing more social in all history has ever been said.

judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow, and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1876

By Bayard Taylor[18]

Foreseen in the vision of sages
Foretold when martyrs bled,
She was born of the longing of ages,
By the truth of the noble dead
And the faith of the living fed!
No blood in her lightest veins
Frets at remembered chains
Nor shame of bondage has bowed her head.
In her form and features still
The unblenching Puritan will,
Cavalier honor, Huguenot grace,
The Quaker truth and sweetness,
And the strength of the danger-girdled race
Of Holland, blend in a proud completeness.
From homes of all where her being began

[18]The racial and social cosmopolitanism of the United States, in both her origin and later development, has never been better stated than by Bayard Taylor in the National Ode, "America," which he delivered on July 4, 1876, the centenary of the Declaration of Independence. Only the closing lines are printed here.

She took what she gave to man;
Justice that knew no station,
Belief as soul decreed,
Free air for aspiration,
Free force for independent deed!
She takes but to give again,
As the sea returns the rivers in rain;
And gathers the chosen of her seed
From the hunted of every crown and creed.
Her Germany dwells by a gentler Rhine;
Her Ireland sees the old sunburst shine;
Her France pursues some dream divine;
Her Norway keeps his mountain pine;
Her Italy waits by the western brine;
And, broad-based under all,
Is planted England's oaken-hearted mood,
As rich in fortitude
As e'er went worldward from the island wall!
Fused in her candid light,
To one strong race all races here unite;
Tongues melt in hers, hereditary foemen
Forget their sword and slogan, kith and clan.
'Twas glory once to be a Roman:
She makes it glory, now to be a man!

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1878

By Ralph Waldo Emerson[19]

I wish to see America not like the old powers of the earth, grasping, exclusive and narrow, but a benefactor such as no country ever was, hospitable to all nations, legislating for all nationalities. Nations were made to help each other as much as families were; and all advancement is by ideas, and not by brute force or mechanic force. . . .

What this country longs for is personalities, grand persons, to counteract its materialities. . . .

We want men of original perception and original action, who can open their eyes wider than to a nationality,— namely, to considerations of benefit to the human race,— can act in the interest of civilization; men of elastic, men of moral mind, who can live in the moment and take a step forward. . . .

I hope America will come to have its pride in being a nation of servants, and not of the served. How can men have any other ambition where the reason has not suffered a disastrous eclipse. . . .

Trade and government will not alone be the favored aims of mankind, but every useful, every elegant art, every exercise of imagination, the height of reason, the noblest affection, the purest religion will find their home in our institutions, and write our laws for the benefit of man.

[19]These paragraphs are taken from "the Fortune of the Republic," which was one of the last addresses delivered (March 30, 1878) by Emerson. In it, Emerson points out (1) the need for an unselfish America; (2) for unselfish and world-minded personalities, and (3) for a balanced emphasis upon the spiritual and material forces of life.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1880

By Phillips Brooks[20]

It is not for me to glorify tonight the country which I love with all my heart and soul. I may not ask your praise for anything admirable which the United States has been or done. But on my country's birthday I may do something far more solemn and more worthy of the hour. I may ask you for your prayer in her behalf. That on the manifold and wondrous chance which God is giving her,— on her freedom (for she is free, since the old stain of slavery was washed out in her blood); on her unrestrained religious life; on her passion for education, and her eager search for truth; on her jealous care for the poor man's rights and opportunities; on her countless quiet homes where the future generations of her men are growing; on her manufactures and her commerce; on her wide gates open to the east and to the west; on her strange meetings of the races out of which a new race is slowly being born; on her vast enterprise and her illimitable hopefulness,— on all these materials and machineries of manhood, on all that the life of my country must mean for humanity. I may ask you to pray that the blessing of God the

[20]The religious ideal has always been accorded a high place among American ideals. It has consisted not only in religious liberty, but in a belief that the worship of God is essential to the Nation's welfare. If an adequate vote could be taken today in the United States, it would probably show that Phillips Brooks is ranked as the best preacher that America has produced. The selection that is printed here from his well-known sermon, "The Candle of the Lord," discloses through his own spirit the spirit of God brooding over the nation.

Father of man, and Christ the Son of man, may rest forever.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1884

By James Russell Lowell[21]

Theodore Parker said that: "Democracy meant not 'I'm as good as you are,' but 'you're as good as I am.'" And this is the ethical conception of it, . . . a conception which, could it be made actual and practical, would easily solve all the riddles that the old sphinx of political and social economy who sits by the roadside has been proposing to mankind from the beginning, and which mankind has shown such a singular talent for answering wrongly. . . .

In point of fact, far-seeing men count the increasing power of wealth and its combinations as one of the chief dangers with which the institutions of the United States are threatened in the not distant future. The right of individual property is no doubt the very cornerstone of civilization as hitherto understood, but I am a little impatient of being told that property is entitled to exceptional consideration because it bears all the burdens of the State. It bears those, indeed, which can most easily be borne, but poverty pays with its

[21]These words are taken from Lowell's famous address on *Democracy*, delivered in Birmingham, England, in 1884. At this time, Lowell was not only an able poet, critic, essayist, public speaker, statesman, but probably the greatest living American. He portrayed clearly the ethical and social as distinguished from the political and psychological conceptions of democracy. He keenly analyzed the coming conflicts between labor and capital and discerned that the true solution is in the observance of moral and societary principles.

person the chief expenses of war, pestilence, and famine. Wealth should not forget this, for poverty is beginning to think of it now and then. . . .

There has been no period of time in which wealth has been more sensible of its duties than now. It builds hospitals, it establishes missions among the poor, it endows schools. . . . But all these remedies are partial and palliative merely. . . . Our healing is not in the storm or in the whirlwind, it is not in monarchies, or aristocracies, or democracies, but will be revealed by the still small voice that speaks to the conscience and the heart, prompting us to a wider and wiser humanity.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1895

By Booker T. Washington[22]

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields,

[22]This notable passage from Booker T. Washington's best known address, delivered at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1895, is rich in devotion, earnestness, and co-operation. It breathes, not the spirit of superiority, scorn, race hatred, but the spirit of helping to bear one another's burdens and so fulfilling the law of Christ. It represents at his best the spirit of the ablest leader that the Negro race has produced.

cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped to make possible this magnificent representation (the Atlanta Exposition) of the progress of the South.

Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1896

By Franklin H. Giddings[23]

The true ethical family is established, therefore, only by the marriage of a man and woman who, in all sincerity, believe that their union is justified by a concurrence of four things, namely: an unmistakable affection, compounded about equally of passion, admiration, and respect; physical fitness for parenthood; ability to maintain a respectable and pleasant home; and a high sense of the privilege and the duty of transmitting their qualities and their culture to their children.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1899

By William Jennings Bryan[24]

Civil and religious liberty, universal education and the right to participate, directly or through representatives chosen by himself, in all the affairs of government — these give to the American citizen an opportunity and an inspiration which can be found nowhere else. . . .

[23]The strength of the United States has rested partially in the purity of its family life. High moral principles, borne of religious motives, have produced a unique marriage ideal, which is nowhere better stated than by the distinguished sociologist, Franklin H. Giddings.

[24]The eminent commoner, and champion of many moral causes, such as prohibition, woman suffrage, peace, long before these subjects were popular, has given in this excerpt the three-fold strength of the nation and made the "second commandment" the chief ideal of the future.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has taught the individual to protect his own rights; American civilization will teach him to respect the rights of others.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has taught the individual to take care of himself; American civilization, proclaiming the equality of all before the law, will teach him that his own highest good requires the observance of the commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1900

By John Dewey[25]

The obvious fact is that our social life has undergone a thorough and radical change. If our education is to have any meaning for life, it must pass through an equally complete transformation. . . . The introduction of active occupations, of nature study, of elementary science, of art, of history, the relegation of the merely symbolic and formal to a secondary position, the change in the moral atmosphere, in the relation of pupils and teachers —of discipline; the introduction of more active, expressive, and self-directing factors — all these are not mere accidents, they are necessities of the larger social evolution. . . .

To do this means to make each one of our schools an embryonic community life, active with types of

[25]Education has ever been a leading American ideal. At first, it was of the traditional type, but in recent decades, social education has come forward. John Dewey has ably shown how fundamental social processes have given a new trend to the American educational ideal.

occupations that reflect the life of the larger society, and permeated throughout with the spirit of art, history, and science. When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1905

By Theodore Roosevelt[26]

Much has been given to us, and much will rightfully be expected from us. We have duties to others and duties to ourselves; and we can shirk neither. We have become a great nation, forced by the fact of its greatness into relations with other nations of the earth; and we must behave as beseems a people with such responsibilities. Toward all other nations, large and small, our attitude must be one of cordial and sincere friendship. We must show, not only in our words, but in our deeds, that we are earnestly desirous of securing their good-will by acting toward them in a spirit of just and generous recognition of all their rights. But justice and generosity in a nation, as in

[26]Hard-hearted, common-sense Americanism never had an abler exponent than Theodore Roosevelt. He freely cut loose from conventions of the past that had become useless; he wasted no time in seeking ideals that were too far ahead to be realized in his day. He stood fearlessly for methods of solving all problems on the basis of "the square deal" to all parties alike, as is well illustrated in the accompanying excerpt from the inaugural address of March 4, 1905.

an individual, count most when shown, not by the weak, but by the strong. While ever careful to refrain from wronging others, we must be no less insistent that we are not wronging ourselves. We wish peace; but we wish the peace of justice, the peace of righteousness. We wish it because we think it is right and not because we are afraid. No weak nation that acts manfully and justly should ever have cause to fear us, and no strong power should ever be able to single us out as a subject for insolent aggression.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1909

By Jane Addams[27]

All of us forget how very early we are in the experiment of founding self-government in this trying climate of America, and that we are making the experiment in the most materialistic period of all history, having as our court of last appeal against that materialism only the wonderful and inexplicable instinct for justice which resides in the hearts of men,— which is never so resistible as when the heart is young.

We may listen to the young voices rising clear above the roar of industrialism and the prudent councils of commerce, or we may become hypnotized by the sudden new emphasis placed upon wealth and power, and forget the supremacy of spiritual forces in men's affairs. It is as if we ignored a wistful, over-confident

[27]The child is an American ideal. It is usually a woman who works the most patiently in behalf of the American child. Jane Addams, recently called Saint Jane Addams, has spoken in behalf of many social forces in deeds as well as words, but never more effectively than in behalf of the spirit of Youth.

creature who walked through our city streets calling out, "I am the spirit of Youth! With me, all things are possible!" We fail to understand what he wants or even to see his doings, although his acts are pregnant with meaning, and we may either translate them into a sordid chronicle of petty vice or turn them into a solemn school for civic righteousness.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1912

By Theodore Roosevelt[28]

A good constitution, and good laws under the Constitution, and fearless and upright officials to administer the laws — all these are necessary; but the prime requisite in our national life is, and must always be, the possession by the average citizen of the right kind of character. Our aim must be the moralization of the individual, of the government, of the people as a whole.

We desire the moralization not only of political conditions but of industrial conditions, so that every force in the community, individual and collective, may be directed towards securing for the average man, and average woman, a higher and better and fuller life, in the things of the body no less than those of the mind and the soul.

[28]Here the three outstanding points are (1) the importance of moral character; (2) the necessity for industrial justice, and (3) the significance of keeping opportunities open for self development to all

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1915

By Woodrow Wilson[29]

My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America; but always, also, to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. . . .

Americans must have a consciousness different from the consciousness of every other nation in the world. I am not saying this with even the slightest thought of criticism of other nations. You know how it is with a family. A family gets centered on itself if it is not careful and is less interested in the neighbors than it is in its own members. So a nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all nations of mankind. . . .

America has a great cause which is not confined to the American continent. It is the cause of humanity itself. . . .

I would not feel any exhilaration in belonging to America if I did not feel that she was something more than a rich and powerful nation. I should not feel proud to be in some respects and for a little while

[29]In these selections from the address on May 10, 1915, to recently naturalized citizens in Philadelphia, and from the address on October 11, 1915, to the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington, D. C., President Wilson has visualized the place of the United States in a unity of the nations.

her spokesman if I did not believe that there was something else than physical force behind her. I believe that the glory of America is that she is a great spiritual conception and that in the spirit of her institutions dwells not only her distinction but her power. The one thing that the world can not permanently resist is the moral force of great and triumphant convictions.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1915

By Theodore Roosevelt[30]

Therefore, we should devote ourselves as a preparative to preparedness, alike in peace and war, to secure the three elemental things; one a common language, the English language; two, the increase in our social loyalty — citizenship absolutely undivided, a citizenship which acknowledges no flag except the flag of the United States and which emphatically repudiates all duality of intention or national loyalty; and three, an intelligent and resolute effort for the removal of industrial and social unrest, an effort which shall aim equally to securing every man his rights and to make every man understand that unless he in good faith performs his duties he is not entitled to any rights at all.

[30]In his last years, Roosevelt's nationalism became intensified. Roosevelt became tremendously interested in seeing his native country become unified and strong and courageous. The formula that is given here is taken from his Knights of Columbus speech on October 12, 1915.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1917

By Woodrow Wilson[31]

We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples — the German people included — for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience.

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundations of political liberty.

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made secure as the faith and the freedom of the nation can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish objects, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for. . . .

[31]The entry of the United States into the European War brought forth from President Wilson the most unselfish statement of national principles that any large nation had yet declared. The accompanying selection will be recognized at once as a part of the address on April 2, 1917, and gives the setting of the famous ideal, "The world must be made safe for democracy."

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1918 AND 1919

By Woodrow Wilson[32]

There is a great voice of humanity abroad in the world just now which he who cannot hear is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the common conscience now in existence which if any statesman resist will gain for him the most unenviable eminence in history. We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity. . . .

[32]These selections are chosen from the address of President Wilson in Free Trade Hall, Manchester, England (December 30, 1918), and from the address before the Chamber of Deputies in Rome (January 3, 1919). In the speech in Rome, there occurs the world-significant ideal: "Our task . . . is to organize the friendship of the world."

Friendship must have a machinery. If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your minds, if I cannot co-operate with you, I cannot be your friend, and if the world is to remain a body of friends it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant friendly intercourse, the means for constant watchfulness over the common interests. That makes it necessary to make some great effort to have with one another an easy and constant method of conference so that troubles may be taken when they are little and not allowed to grow until they are big. . . .

There is only one thing that holds nations together, if you exclude force, and that is friendship and good will. Therefore, our task at Paris is to organize the friendship of the world — to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united, and are given a vital organization to which the peoples of the world will readily and gladly respond.. . . .

We know that there cannot be another balance of power. That has been tried and found wanting, for the best of all reasons that it does not stay balanced inside itself.

Therefore, there must be something substituted for the balance of power, and I am happy to find everywhere in the air of these nations the conception that that thing must be a thoroughly united League of Nations.

APPENDIX B

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